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**Two Inside Reports:**

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**FOCUS  
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**School Boycotts: Only The Beginning**

*Brown and Gordon*

**Will Illinois Republicans Dump Tribune?**

*Tom Littlewood*

**ADDICTS: Criminal Or Sick?**

*Joseph R. Rosenbloom*

**Peter Rabbit — King Of The Bunnies**

*Binnie N. Simon*

**The Golden Age Of The Bench And Bar In St. Louis**

*Bryan Purteet*



# OUT OF FOCUS

*(Readers are invited to submit items for publication, indicating whether the sender can be identified. Items must be fully documented and not require any comment.)*

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The newly-formed "Commission on Constitutional Government" is another attempt to curtail the powers of the federal government. Forty-nine persons from ten states met in Lincoln, Nebraska February 6. On the board of directors are Thomas Graham, speaker of the Missouri House; State Senator Jack Schroeder of Iowa, treasurer; and Lt. Gov. John Brown of Ohio. State Representative J. Curtis McKay of Wisconsin is one of the incorporators. Among their aims is the adoption of two constitutional amendments which (one) would clear the way for future amendments of the federal constitution by direct initiative action of the states, and (two) specifically prohibit federal court jurisdiction in state reapportionment matters.

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The following United States Representatives voted against the Civil Rights Act of 1964: From Illinois: None; From Indiana: None; From Iowa: Gross and Jensen; From Kansas: None; From Minnesota: None; From Missouri: Hull, Jones, and Hall; From Nebraska: Beerman. From Ohio: Ashbrook; From Wisconsin: Van Pelt.

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How are people going to warn people about the dangers of thought control in 1985?

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The "Annual Review and Forecast" of business and finance published by the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* early in January and full of *advertising* and cheerful *pronouncements of leading businessmen* in the community, was headed "Area Development in 1963 Faster Than Postwar Average." Another headline in the two-part section was "St. Louis Economic Activity Reaches New High in 1963." A few weeks later, William H. Kester, P-D financial editor, headlined one of his regular, scholarly columns: "Pace of Business in This Region Is Slower Than in Rest of U.S."

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"When a councilman of a 4th class city is charged in municipal court with fighting in the street with the mayor of such city, the trial should be conducted by the regularly elected police judge of such city, even though the police judge witnessed such fighting between the councilman and mayor."

Attorney General's Opinion published in  
the *Missouri Municipal Review*

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The annual report of the Council of Economic Advisers, which was transmitted to Congress January 20 with President Johnson's economic report, also covered the problem of poverty in the U.S. It reported that nearly one-fifth of the nation, 33-35 million Americans, was still living in poverty in 1962. (The boundary of poverty was regarded as an annual income of \$3,000 for a family of four.)

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Congress in 1963 gave its final approval to 109, or 27.2 per cent, of the late President Kennedy's 401 specific legislative requests. Although the 1963 session was the fifth longest in the nation's history, it took no action at all on 91, or 22.7 per cent of the requests. The final approval score was the lowest in the last ten years.

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The Commander of the USS "Midway" requires that all ship personnel stand at attention while Catholic and Protestant chaplains say an evening prayer, and that grace be said at all meals.

---

The West German government may seek authorization to castrate convicted sex criminals, Justice Minister Ewald Bucher announced. Bucher told Parliament that the chief obstacle was the present law which provides that castration may be undertaken only if the subject agrees. (There were 4,538 convictions in Germany for sexual attacks on children in 1961, the last year for which statistics were available).

—Submitted by Gordon Gerbec, Chicago

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# Letters

## The Memorial Issue

(We continue receiving comments on the Memorial Issue. While we published many letters in our last issue, we felt that we should also share the following with our readers. The Special Issue is still available at the regular price of 60 cents.)

F/M: . . . I read the issue with sorrow and admiration.

Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.  
Special Assistant  
to the President  
Washington, D.C.

F/M: . . . I deeply appreciate the sincere sentiments expressed . . . The tribute to President Kennedy is an honor to his memory and it was most kind of you to express your sympathy in this way.

Edward M. Kennedy  
United States Senator

F/M: . . . I found it a fine tribute to the late President Kennedy.

Walter W. Heller  
Chairman of the Council  
of Economic Advisers  
Washington, D.C.

F/M: . . . Accept my congratulations on the very impressive Memorial Issue of FOCUS/Midwest in which you deal with the tragic death of John Fitzgerald Kennedy. It is a document which I shall treasure as I attempt to clearly focus on this our national tragedy.

Svend A. Godfredsen  
Assistant to the President  
Roosevelt University

F/M: . . . the most meaningful momento . . . of the tragedy . . .

Edwin T. Harper  
Evanston, Ill.

## CORE vs Jefferson Bank

F/M: As a former member of CORE I am impelled to comment both about Virginia Brodine's article about the Jefferson Bank demonstration and your additional comment about that article.

Mrs. Brodine asks why CORE chose to picket the Jefferson Bank and why the bank officials chose to fight CORE. The sequence of events described in the article suggests why CORE chose to do battle with Jefferson Bank. It seems clear that the Bank, for an extended period of time, did not act in good faith and that peaceful, lawful demonstrations would have been justified. Instead, even after having been served with a Court Order which ordered them not to engage in conduct in which they should not have engaged anyway, many individuals did all they could to completely prevent the Bank from operating. The conduct in which the demonstrators engaged is conduct which cannot be condoned or tolerated in *any* society. The police had no alternative but to stop it.

The article does not demonstrate that the Bank "chose to fight" with CORE, beyond the seeking of legal protection against unlawful conduct. Lawful conduct has never been prohibited at the Bank.

I agree that the sentencing for contempt of persons who in no way were shown to have been guilty was reprehensible. I also agree that the sentences were extreme. Yet I have the uncomfortable feeling that if the guilty individuals had been given only light fines and sentences, they would have been back very soon repeating their misconduct.

CORE's antics at the Bank and apologies therefor like Mrs. Brodine's serve no constructive purpose. Mass demonstrations and picketing, when they stay within the bounds of free speech, exert pressure although, obviously, not as great immediate pressure as threats of violence and actual violence. Al Capone recognized this. CORE's efforts *before* its lawlessness at the Jefferson Bank were accomplishing results. The flurry of hiring by the other banks *preceded* the Jefferson Bank demonstrations. Unless we are to believe that the other banks were threatened with the kind of illegal conduct engaged in at Jefferson Bank, we can assume that the only threats were threats of legal, peaceful demonstrations.

Mass picketing and in other ways using one's body to interfere with another's freedom of action is violence. You cannot compare this kind of conduct with anything advocated by Gandhi, Martin Luther King or, for that matter, Jesus. I do not consider this to be "a fine point." The means we use will inevitably shape the ends we seek. CORE was founded on that principle. It has forgotten it, I hope, only temporarily.

Glen L. Moller  
St. Louis

F/M: In "The Strange Case of the Jefferson Bank vs CORE," Virginia Brodine has presented (the) case with considerable documentation, that had been withheld from the public by the metropolitan press. The author submitted a list of questions that should challenge the sense of justice of everyone. Questions that have never been clarified by the courts or by the press. When the *Globe-Democrat* says "they got what they deserved," it very conveniently forgets that the Boston Tea parties were a form of civil disobedience, and that the Colonies won their independence from England on the principle of civil disobedience. All that any higher court has ever passed upon is the evidence of guilt as charged. No court . . . considered fairly and with an open mind the justification of excessive fines, bails, and prison sentences. In my humble opinion history will record the handling of this case as a dark page in the legal and moral processes in St. Louis.

Rev. L. P. Lockhart  
Greenville, Ill.

## Harry Mark Petrakis

F/M: I want to congratulate you for a most stimulating and brilliant effort. The high quality of your contributors was impressive. I especially enjoyed the sensitive poetic character of your Dateline: Chicago columnist, Mr. Harry M. Petrakis.

Mary K. Zielinski  
Chicago



## We Will Need Patience

IN her address to the annual gathering of the Independent Voters of Illinois in Chicago, Senator Maurine B. Neuberger (D., Ore.) gave up on a strong civil rights bill before the fight had started. It is one thing to weigh alternatives in "smoke-filled rooms," but it is another thing if attempts are made to "prepare the public" for compromise. "Not to face the possibility of compromise," the Senator claims, "is completely unrealistic." We disagree. She sounds too much like Illinois Senator Everett M. Dirksen, the Republican minority leader, who intones, "there are going to be some compromises."

While the Senate can pass the bill by a majority vote, it needs two-thirds (67) of those voting to invoke cloture. Supporters of the measure cannot cut off debate unless the bill is watered down. The supporters — including Senator Neuberger, we hope — are determined not to compromise. Southern Senators are prepared to filibuster 24 hours a day. Who will give in first will decide the strength of the bill. Supporters of the bill promise to hold out as long as necessary and let the pressure of the country's business kill the filibuster.

Leon Shull, the new national director of the Americans for Democratic Action, believes that the bill will be won by a 60 to 40 or even a 65 to 35 vote. Shull recalled that President Johnson, when a senator, maintained that *any* bill can be passed without invoking cloture if the administration truly backs it. The President still believes this. Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, assistant majority leader who will serve as Senate floor manager for the measure, also said the President is committed to the strong terms of the House bill.

At home, we should prepare ourselves for a long, patient siege, and to sit through the filibuster without irritation. Every day of the filibuster also means one day closer to a strong civil rights bill. Our Senators should be urged to display patience and forbearance. Under the present rules of the Senate, these are the only effective weapons to stop the filibuster.

## The St. Louis Bicentennial

THE Bicentennial of St. Louis has been inaugurated with the visit of President Johnson. Most likely the three-year celebration will end with the dedication of the spectacular Gateway arch and the new stadium. Aside from these triumphal events, Bicentennial celebrations are unfortunately confined by the lack of funds. The right people are saying the right things and celebrating the proper occasions, but these doings have so far failed to create a mood of excitement and expectation. A very genuine contribution to the Bicentennial has been made by the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, which started a campaign of beautifying the city by planting trees.

Here is one suggestion which may involve thousands of St. Louisans: one summery Saturday night, at various places throughout the city, as many as twenty, fifty, or a hundred blocks could be roped off and neighborhood dances, parades, art shows, and sidewalk cafes could be set up. St. Louis organizations, many of which find little opportunity for working together, could plan this evening under the sponsorship of the Bicentennial Commission. Veteran groups, the Urban League, the St. Louis Artist Guild, neighborhood associations, churches, political clubs, and a host of others could put this or a similar plan over. It could be a lot of fun.

## The Metropolitan Press

FOR months the *Chicago Daily Defender* has been lambasting Chicago's newspapers for continually referring to four rather than five "metropolitan" dailies. It wants to be included. The *Defender*, which primarily caters to Negroes, implies that this policy exemplifies the white man's view. We cannot agree with the *Defender*. It is not a metropolitan newspaper — but neither are the other Chicago dailies. Their criminal sections are well integrated but their society pages look pretty colorless to us. Few of the dailies qualify as "metropolitan" newspapers. All have selected one part of the population pie as their readership. The *Defender* is as much — or rather as little — metropolitan as Chicago's other dailies.

## "Scientific Advances"

THE Association of the Bar of the City of New York will study "the extent to which recent scientific developments threaten the essential balance between the needs of society and government for information and the competing needs of individuals and institutions for privacy."

The very listing of the "scientific advances" which will be studied tell us much about the world we live in:

(1) Laser beams and their utility for eavesdropping on conversations; (2) Closed-circuit concealed TV surveillance; (3) Micro-miniaturized radio transmitters which can be hidden in tiny objects of common use; (4) Lie detector tests — including those that might be administered without the subject's knowledge; (5) Subliminal and subaudial projection of messages to audiences on television, radio, and motion pictures; (6) Drugs that might be administered to unlock secrets of persons without their awareness; (7) The prospects of learning an individual's emotions and attitudes from brain-waves; (8) Personality-tests that delve into the recesses of attitudes, beliefs, and behavior; and (9) The increasing pace of computer processing of information about millions of private persons.

And we have another 20 years to 1984.





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HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

UNITED STATES SENATOR

## We'll Have Chaos Without Planning

There are two problems today which concern me very much. They are national problems, but in one respect they affect the Midwest uniquely. Let me state the problems broadly.

The first problem is the impact of automation and technology on the employment situation. Currently automation and technology are eliminating more jobs than they are creating. We have a growing economy. The gross national product has reached \$600 billion — an increase of \$100 billion in the last three years. And still we have an unemployment factor that is too high. Not only that, but we have not yet felt the full force of post World War II increase of births which are about to mature and come on the labor market. To meet our problems in employment we must be able to provide more than 300,000 new jobs *per month*. This is the equivalent of one fair-sized new industry *per month*.

The second problem is that our growing population is in the process of a vast shift. The growth is major. When I was elected to the Senate in 1948, the population of the country was 150 million. Since that time we have added more people than the entire population of Great Britain. By 1980 our population will be 250 million.

If present trends continue that population will be largely compacted in giant cities rimming the coastlines of America, with just a few large cities inland. The heartland of America will have been drained. Agriculture will be a factory run by a lot of machines and a few managers and foremen. Many small towns will become ghost-towns, and even fair-sized communities will suffer.

I do not like these trends. They are bad for the nation and they are bad for the Midwest. Moreover I refuse to accept the idea that they are inevitable. As President Johnson has told the Congress: "if we have the brainpower to invent these machines, we have the brainpower to make certain that they are a boon, not a bane,

to humanity." Cities are getting too big and their problems are getting out of hand. This need not be so either. The small and middle-sized communities of the heartland of America have been and are, an irreplaceable source of spiritual vitality, independence, and a real sense of community. To lose their balance in our national life would be a severe loss.

I have recently introduced legislation to set up a Commission on Automation, Technology, and Employment to make a fundamental study and produce concrete recommendations.

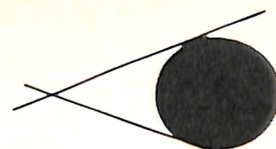
There are many needs in this country crying out for the application of this new knowledge and these new machines. There are many tasks and projects that would create thousands of new jobs, create many new communities, revitalize more old ones. Our new powers can put men to work, not lay them off. But it will take planning, not wishful thinking.

I believe that the Commission I have proposed could show us that we have more than enough knowledge to do some creative, imaginative regional planning to broaden the base of economic power in all sections of the country; to keep the virtues of small and medium-sized community living; to keep the regional vitality and balance of strength in our Nation.

If we resolve to meet these problems they will be an opportunity. If not they will become a crisis. I intend to press the issue.

The Commission I have proposed is broadly based. It includes representatives of the executive and legislative branches of the national government. It includes individuals from labor, business, science, education, state and local governments. All parts of our federal system have to work together on this. The planning that is clearly a necessity must begin while it is still a possibility to execute the plans without severe economic and social dislocation of our people.

This is our number one challenge at home for the next decade.



DATELINES

ROBERT  
FARNSWORTH

KANSAS CITY



Kansas City now has an Earnings tax. We can therefore assume that many much needed municipal services will be adequately financed for some time. So far, so good.

But there is one aspect of the E-tax which is glaringly unjust. As its name indicates the E-tax is applicable only to earnings, not to all income. Those who make their living or even a substantial part of their living from capital investment such as rental property or stocks and bonds do not have to pay the same tax which others do who make their living from earnings. This means that many of those who are most able to pay for the municipal services they receive are exempt from paying their fair share.

The supporters of the E-tax insist that the state legislature would not have permitted them to pass a true income tax since this area of taxation is preempted for federal and state use. This may well be an accurate appraisal of the present political situation, but this is no argument for passively accepting the situation. We need a public debate.

There seems little reason for state legislators to be so jealous over the

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distinction between an earnings and an income tax. Both invade the same area of taxation. The prime distinctions are (1) that an earnings tax is generally a constant percentage of a person's earnings, while an income tax usually takes a graduatedly larger percentage as a person's income increases; and (2) only the income tax is levied on income from capital investments.

Under an income tax the percentage taken from a person's income increases on the theory that a person's ability to pay should influence the size of his tax burden. Under the earnings tax the amount a person pays may increase with the size of his income, but not the percentage. Since the earnings tax in Kansas City is presently set at only one-half of one per cent, one may well argue that the burden of administering a more complicated graded income tax outweighs the greater economic justice which might be achieved by taxing citizens more strictly according to their ability to pay.

It is in the second distinction between the two taxes — the exclusion of much income from taxation under an E-tax — where the real rub comes. First, however, we should admit that the E-tax exempts many people from taxation who should be exempted. Many have as their sole or principal source of income a pension or social security check, and frequently these are woefully inadequate. Such income is exempt.

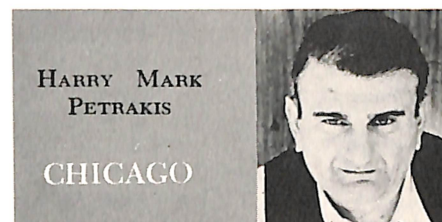
The same protection should not be given to a man who happens to be shrewd enough, wealthy enough, or just plain lucky enough to own a stock which increases 500 per cent in value — such as Chrysler stock did last year — and which therefore pays a fat dividend on an initial investment to boot. If state legislators insist on unfairly protecting such people from city taxation, then they ought to defend themselves publicly. And our city councilmen and mayor, who have an obligation to see that the tax burden is carried fairly in Kansas City, ought to be the ones to put them on the spot.

Kansas City's new government needs and deserves the additional revenue it will gain from the E-tax. But if it makes no effort to readjust the tax burden, presently imposed by the E-tax, then it will have to bear the responsibility for initiating and continuing an obviously unfair tax. It is not enough to say that the E-tax is the fairest tax we could get under present circumstances, or to point to the fact that voters in many other cities have apparently been satisfied with the E-tax, or to gloat over the fact that we are finally going to make those suburbanites pay their fair share of the city's tax burden.

The University of Chicago Center on Securities Research recently reported that an equal investment in all stocks listed on the New York Stock Exchange fifty years ago would

return the investor better than 9 per cent each year. Ben Schiffman, the Kansas City *Star's* financial editor, recently reported that in the last eight years the number of millionaires in Kansas City has jumped from 190 in 1955 to 324 in 1963, an increase of 70 per cent. Sylvia Porter in her syndicated financial column recently reported that non-salaried income has shown an astonishing increase in federal income tax forms compared to salaried income.

Such information suggests that the E-tax is not only grossly unjust now, but is likely to become increasingly unjust as our economy expands and the benefits of capital investments grow more and more lush.



*Chicago Scene* magazine passed away here this month. The February issue currently on the stands will be the last. Aside from an obituary by Richard Christiansen in the *Chicago Daily News Panorama*, there were few mourners willing to gather at the wake. The magazine under the guidance of a bright young editor and publisher named Jay H. Selz had managed for several years to survive the losses and the despair. While the magazine was not forced to fold, the publisher decided to close doors.

As a free-lance writer I am concerned with the demise of any good magazine. There is an added measure of distress in the passing of *Chicago Scene* because it was published in this city of the burly shoulders. God knows we need all we can get. While *Poetry* magazine has managed to hang on since Harriet Monroe first started it in 1912, the graveyard by the banks of the river is heavy with the verdant bones of many literary ventures.

There are many civic boosters who, when asked to describe the city's contribution to American literature, bend in the classical pose of Markham's "Man with a Hoe" under the stately weight of their responsibility. They are laden with a reverence for our past grandeur and not even our present uncertainty can render them inarticulate for long.

I think there is no question that early in the century the image of Chicago as a city warm and respon-

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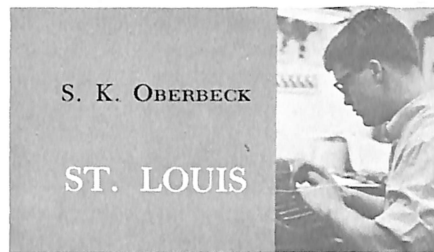


sive to the arts had a heartening effect upon the writers and poets who flocked here to nestle for a while under the city's broad wing. They came like foot-weary refugees from the small towns of the Midwest. Dell from Davenport, Iowa, Hecht from Racine, Wisconsin, Dreiser (pausing very briefly on his way East) from Terre Haute, Indiana, Anderson from Camden, Ohio, and Masters from Garnett, Kansas. They fled the small towns where each of them felt harried and misunderstood and alone and gathered here in the company of kindred souls.

In spite of the fact that this city has always been more concerned with the fortunes of a McCormick and a Hearst, an Armour and a Swift, a Gary and a Pullman (perhaps rightfully so since the writer has little to offer sometimes beyond a wistful and inadequate effort), there was provided here a sanctuary which allowed a man to get his breath. The extent of our contribution may have been only that of a way station where a man could pause in his flight and look back to appraise the town from which he had fled. Then again it may have been a certain vigor here, a faith that could envisage the city as a wellspring of an American culture rising from the pioneer iron of the Midwest. Both the lyrical Winesburg, Ohio and the lovely Spoon River Anthology owe something to this city.

But having conceded this and after being grateful for what we have today, the compassionate anger of a Nelson Algren and the melodic melancholia of a Gwendolyn Brooks, we still have to ask about other voices among us today. Where are the virile young writers and poets the city has nourished through these past decades? Do they lurk in serene solitude waiting perhaps for a later flowering of our renaissance before bursting from their cocoons? Can we rest smugly assured they will be around when we need them most, when it comes time to explain the thunder of this city to our neighbors and our peers? I don't know. But the death of a good magazine does not reassure me for it suggests many things beyond its demise. Where are the readers and where are the writers that might have helped keep it alive?

I think the cultural committees on their white chargers, blowing their venerable horns up that great boulevard that parallels the gardens and the lake, would do better to dismount and start beating the bush.



We had enough of Beatlemania, of exhaust fumes and billboards and buildups for bicentennial observances and so we escaped, like two characters in a science fiction story, down to the Current river for a winter float trip from Pulltight Spring to Round Spring. It was no more than an afternoon's jaunt on the swift Ozark river, but in those few hours of floating

through the slant sun of a crisp, windy day that drew towards dusk, we felt cured of many urbane ills.

Pulltight Spring is one of Missouri's smaller and most beautiful springs, probably because it is the least exploited. Owned privately, the spring wells up in perfect silence near an old cabin built about 1912 in a glade scooped in the back of a limestone bluff. By summer, the spring pours about 35,000 gallons of clear water into its branch, where log and rock spillways are clogged with wild watercress and river fern. In the winter, the branch is only a trickle and seems like an ocean beach caught at low-tide.

The river too is lower, but carries a canoe over most of the skiffles.

*Continued on page 29*

## Report On Level Of Radioactivity

The following table prepared by the U.S. Public Health Service provides information on concentrations of radioactivity in milk samples. The data give are in terms of microcuries per liter of milk (1.05 quarts).

(The data below is the latest made available. Fallout analyses are also prepared by the St. Louis City and County Department of Public Health for their area. These indicate that the cumulative dose of I-131 for one year (6-31-62 to 12-31-63) was 40 in the St. Louis region. Some appreciation of the significance of estimated intake levels can be obtained by comparison with the Federal Radiation Council guides (see "Acceptable Risk").

City	Average Daily Level			Total For Past 12 Months		
	As of			As of		
	Oct. 1963 Sr-89	Nov. 1963 Sr-90	I-131	Oct. 1963 Sr-89	Sr-90	Nov. 1963 I-131
Acceptable Risk	2000	200	100	730,000	73,000	36,500
Chicago	15	16	10	8,840	6,664	2,080
Kansas City	20	29	10	29,225	8,799	6,070
St. Louis	20	18	10	19,740	7,154	2,850
<b>HIGHEST REPORTS FROM THROUGHOUT THE NATION</b>						
Minneapolis, Minn.	40					
Omaha, Nebr.	40					
Minot, N.D.		54			15,351	
All Stations			10			
New Orleans, La.				53,690		
Dallas, Texas						14,190

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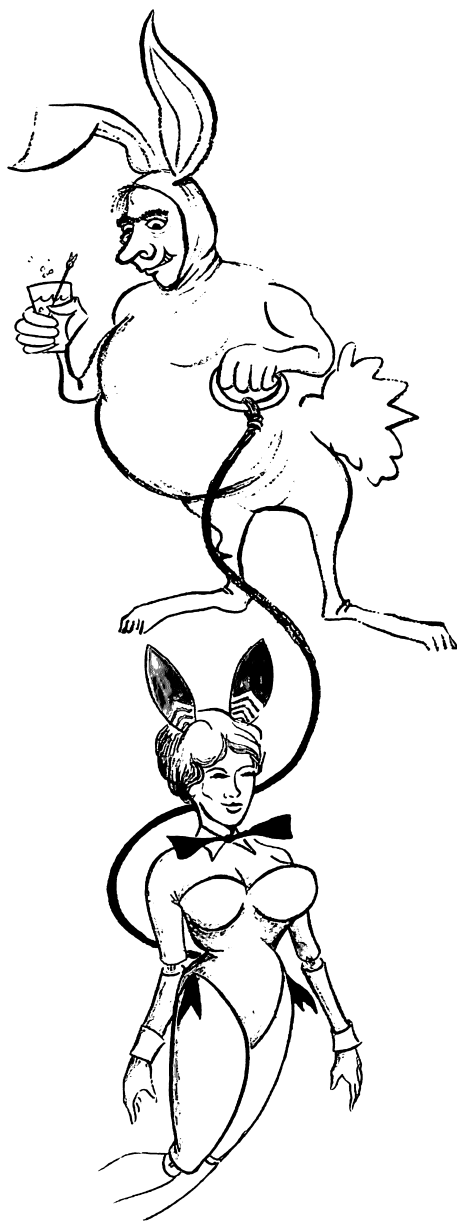
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# Peter Rabbit

## King of the Bunnies

Binnie N. Simon



PLAYBOY magazine, source of a phenomenon that plagues everyone from the shopkeeper in Kokomo to the Governor of New York, represents a cultural contradiction. Its castle is masculinity but its coat of arms is a rabbit. The rabbit is a frightened creature that hops from bed to bed. He takes no pleasure in the sexual relationship or in his partners; he performs an act.

When a Playboy bunny said on a television show that she really didn't like the idea of the female being only an accessory of a man, she was summarily fired. When questioned about it, Vic Lownes III, one of publisher Hugh Hefner's chief lieutenants said, "I guess we do express an anti-feminist point of view, and we might be somewhat in error in not giving the exceptional woman full credit. But we firmly believe that women are *not* equal to men."

In an interview with Cleveland Amory, Hefner talked about the members of the Playboy Clubs. "They're idealists. If they want action, they don't get it in our clubs. But one of our Bunnies twisting on the piano — one they can't even touch — is more sexy than the other thing, and the kind of sex they come back to and don't hate themselves in the morning . . . We've got to remember that romance and marriage are . . . deadly enemies. Life can still be that wild, wonderful idealistic adventure." This is the Playboy "vision." Voyuerism is more exciting than sex. To look but not touch is better (indeed, even idealistic), because with "the other thing" you'll hate yourself in the morning.

The magazine itself is exemplary of the look-but-don't-touch philosophy. An advice column offers to solve problems of "fashion, food and drink, hi-fi and sports cars, dating dilemmas, taste and etiquette." A young man who likes an older woman but finds her friends incompatible is told to end their seven-year relationship "before you become inextricably enmeshed." A man whose girl friend makes a public display of affection is advised that the young lady may be "sick, sick, sick; her overt displays may be overcompensation for sexual fear, coldness, inadequacy." Playboy tells him, "Your next move should be out of the picture if the advertising of her affections remains unchecked." A reader considering an affair with a married woman is told, "Pass up this chance to make a pass; it spells trouble . . . stick with the 10th Commandment and never forget

that one man's helpmeet is another man's poison . . . Don't be coy about it — the harder you seem to get the more she'll want you." This is Playboy's all-male male: sophisticated Peter Rabbit trembling before the onslaught of a world filled with clawing, predatory females.

A young man propositioned by his friend's fiancée in a bar turned her down. Now he regrets it. *Playboy*, champion of freedom from middle-class morality, advises, "Take her up on it, tell your friend, and let the chippies fall where they may."

THE Playmate of the month epitomizes the look-but-don't-touch philosophy. The girl is always lovely, as lovely as natural endowments, colored filters, cheese-cloth, retouching, and other refinements of the photographer's art can make her. She is composed of peaches and marshmallows, not flesh and blood, and she is the cellophane-wrapped tomato of the supermarket. She is removed from reality, impossibly glamorized (what real woman would not suffer by comparison — including the girl who posed for the picture), smell-less (can you imagine a Playmate with bad breath?), soulless and tasteless. She is the impossible fantasy of a twelve-year-old, built on guilty thoughts and imaginings. She has no humanity because she is for dreams, not touch.

A routine *Playboy* publicity blurb describes the now defunct Playboy Penthouse T.V. Show as being "set against a background of herds of gorgeous girls." The phrase is revealing. Like cattle women come in herds. They are sides of beef.

The women-as-sides-of-beef attitude appears repeatedly in *Playboy*. In "A Guide To Getting The Other Guy's Girl" *Playboy* readers are told the primary task is to dislodge the guy who is there ahead of you because if a girl is worth having (it's called a "working arrangement") the beef has already been branded. Nowhere is there a suggestion the girl may have feelings. She is a piece of merchandise, to be acquired, bartered for, or disposed of at will.

In an article which laments the passing of the "all-girl girl," William Iversen writes:

Having won the right to vote, smoke and wear short hair, she has all too often come to conceive of herself not as a dish but as an apple — a buddy, pal, chum, colleague and somewhat chesty bowling companion . . .



She perches on the edge of the chair, waiting to snatch the conversational ball and make a touch-down with her vocal cords . . . Over a friendly nightcap, her conversation will grow more and more revealing, until at last, clad only in the thinnest fabric of ideas, she seduces him into holding her opinions and permits him to probe the soft contours of her eager little mind. In order to broach the subject of amour, he will first find it necessary to get her attention (which may take weeks) and then proceed indirectly by way of the frontal lobes. If all goes well and he plays his cards right, this may eventually turn the trick.

The entire article, like so much of *Playboy*, is filled with contempt. Women cannot be companions, friends, people. The body is separated from the being. The only purpose in talking to a woman, in desiring her company, in wanting to know that she thinks, is to find the shortest route to bed. Peter Rabbit is not concerned with a satisfying relationship, either sexually or emotionally. He is concerned only with the art of copulation, frequently, and no matter with whom. He *cannot* be concerned with a satisfying relationship because he is too frightened of women to establish an emotional relationship, and without emotional rapport the sexual relationship is as satisfying as — and on a par with — a ten-dollar whore house.

**H**UGH Hefner frequently points out that *Playboy* is an out-growth of himself as he felt as an adolescent, edited primarily to his own tastes and interests. It must, then, echo to some extent his attitude toward women. In "Czar of the Bunny Empire" (*Saturday Evening Post* 2/28/62) Bill Davidson quotes Hefner on his early background: "My mother and father . . . imposed rigid Protestant fundamentalist ethics on us. Worst of all was their attitude toward sex, which they considered a horrid thing never to be mentioned. I remember the early embarrassment of just putting my arm around a girl . . . I withdrew into fantasies . . . It didn't help that my mother was the strong parent and I was brought up almost entirely under her supervision. My father . . . worked late every night and I hardly ever saw him." Perhaps this background accounts for Hefner's



pre-occupation with what he calls "the womanization of America."

In a taped interview for *U. S. Camera* magazine he said, "There's nothing wrong with a female point of view, but it's only one point of view. If it dominates total society, you are in rather serious difficulty, particularly since this country was based on exactly the opposite. The great start this country had . . . was patriarchal in nature. We may have thought that mom was pretty swell, but none the less, in the simpler society that existed in frontier days, dad was boss . . . The man goes out and kills a sabre-toothed tiger while the woman stays at home and washes the pots . . . the roles were more clearly defined . . . [Today] she wants to dominate the male, and the male gets into a position in which he feels dominated, and thus the woman loses identity." Poor frightened Peter Rabbit, deprived of his power. Hefner is correct when he says there has been a loss of identity, but it is not woman who has lost it.

**R**ATHER than the sinful fleshpots many accuse them of being ("women running around practically naked!"), the Playboy Clubs are as pure and un-sexual as the corner restaurant — and a great deal less personal. One of the first phrases a Bunny is taught is "Sir, members are not allowed to touch the Bunnies." Bunnies are not allowed to date customers (a policy the corner restaurant wouldn't want to enforce), and in the interests of "morality" a detective firm makes constant checks to make certain the rule is not broken. Playboy says it must protect its reputation, a strange contradiction from a corporation that has amassed a fortune by making sex a publicly marketable commodity. Yet it is precisely *because* the sex which Playboy offers is basically anti-sexual that it has remained both marketable and public.

John Skow, in "The Funny Side of the Bunny Business" (*Saturday Evening Post* 3/2/63), advances the

cause of the Bunnies of the New York Club:

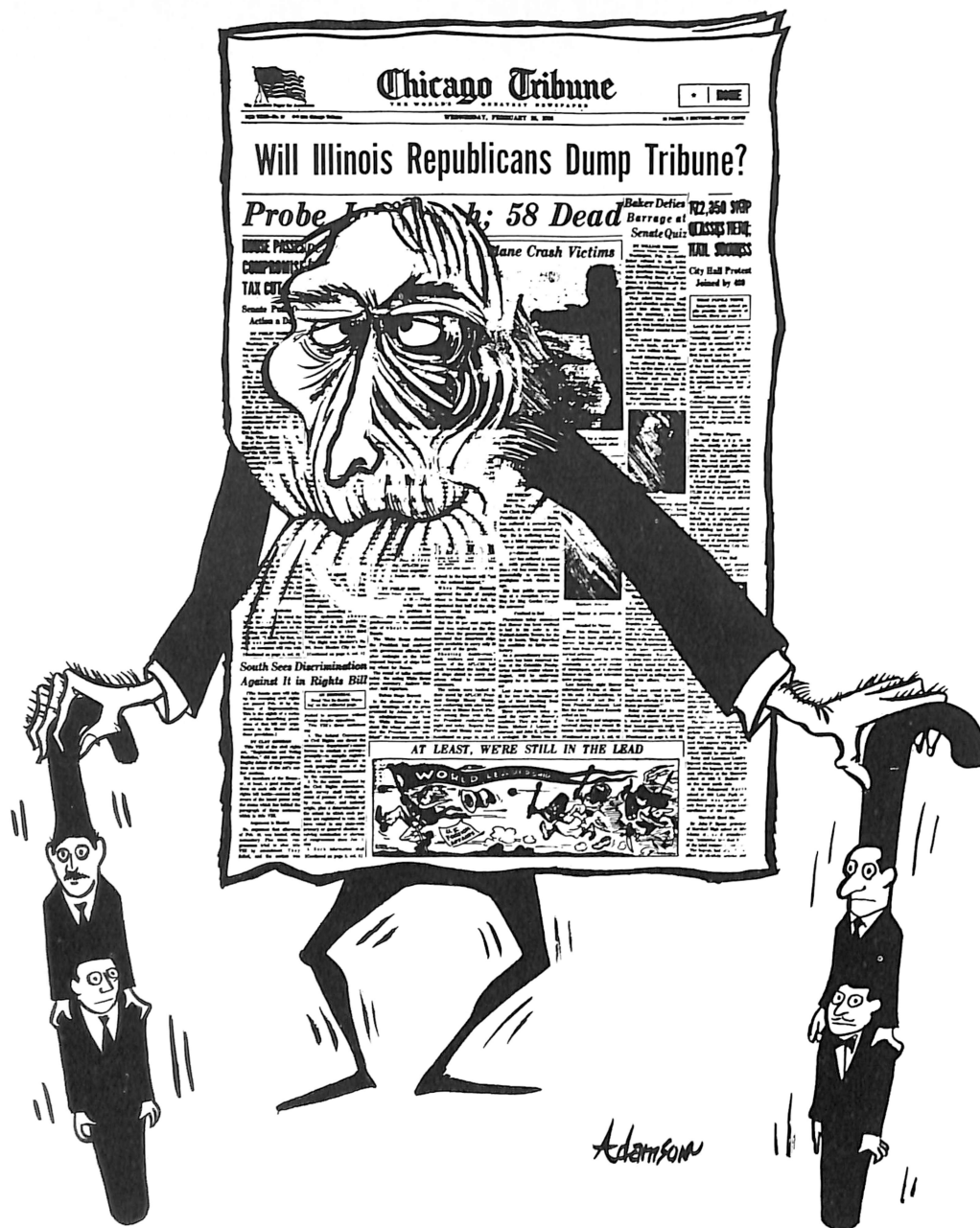
What then if the busts (padded), the exclusivity (any male can buy a key), and the wickedness (the girls feel the customers are far too tame to give a girl much trouble) are imitation . . . . It is the intoxicating elixir of self-delusion. A man who wants to regard himself as wicked and worldly is quickly deflated when he looks at his wife, his boss or his mirror. But at the Playboy Club the hallucination grows in the spiralling smoke. He goes there telling himself he will pick up a girl, if one meets his exacting standards (knowing of course that he is safe; the girls are not available). The Bunny laughs admiringly at his jokes, brings him his drinks with a velvet touch, and ever so tactfully turns aside his ritual proposition ("If you're my bunny, can I take you home?"). The member leaves, well satisfied with himself. He tried, didn't he? This, anyway, is how the bunnies themselves analyze the slender egos they bottle-feed."

This then is Peter Rabbit's woman — a life size doll with a ring in her back which delivers appropriate recorded phrases when the ring is pulled (I love you. Will you play with me? Take off my red dress!), all delivered in an appropriate, pre-recorded, non-emotional monotone. For excitement, she should also approximate the features of the doll that kisses automatically whenever it's arms are raised.

She must have no accomplishments, because they might be interpreted as competitive, and Peter Rabbit brooks no threats — real or imagined — to his masculinity (real or imagined). She must not think, talk or have opinions. She must be the gate-fold girl — to be glorified as long as she remains cellophane wrapped. She must be willing at all times to play bed-games, but be prepared to be called a tramp or have Peter Rabbit run as soon as she has played them. She must be an accessory rather than a companion, like the automobile, the apartment and the hi-fi. And like the hi-fi, she must be able to be turned on and off at will, without emotional entanglements. Sort of a sexy golem, she must be a body but she may not be a woman.

Such is Peter Rabbit's ideal woman. And he deserves her.





## Tom Littlewood

FOR the first time since the demise of the Thompson-Small partnership in the election of 1932, a threat exists in Illinois that the Republican party might at the April 14 primary nominate someone for governor who is not directly under the thumb of the *Chicago Tribune*. That and the conflicting ambitions of the rising generation of younger Republicans, pivoting about the prospective 1966 contest for U. S. senator, have developed in recent weeks as the unexpected dominant factors in the campaign. A sudden reshuffling of the cast precipitated a rather disorderly scramble for positions of power. Two energetic "moderates"

cut more or less out of the same cloth were left as the opposing candidates — industrialist Charles H. Percy, 44, and state treasurer William J. Scott, 37. Because of the considerable doubt whether either can defeat incumbent Otto Kerner in November and anticipation that the unbeatable Paul H. Douglas, now 71, will retire in 1966, Senate aspirations had much to do with the regrouping that followed. Equally important, many of the old established forces in Illinois Republicanism, including the *Tribune*, were found hastily improvising their alliances as best they could.

Through the years the *Tribune* has

counselled and controlled Republican candidates, pushing and pulling, acting as the vigorous, self-appointed arbiter of honorable midwestern Republican principles, a steadfast fortress against eastern radicalism. This is the largest single reason why the party has resisted the evolutionary processes experienced in the other large industrial states.

Percy's determination to seek the governorship this year impressed neither the *Tribune* nor the courthouse professionals in the G.O.P. For one thing, he was in the most literal sense of the word a "modern" Republican, having gotten excited about politics during the presidency of



Dwight D. Eisenhower. Then too he has been a close friend of rival Chicago publisher Marshall Field Jr. And it required only a couple of tests to learn that Percy was not susceptible to the smothering style of influence in which the *Tribune* has long specialized.

By natural law the choice of the party regulars seemed to be 67-year-old Charles Carpentier, the secretary of state and a dependable conservative who, unlike Percy, had started at the bottom. A Roman Catholic of Belgian ancestry, Carpentier plotted his campaign for governor on the premise that Chicago's Polish, Irish, and Italian voting blocs would give vent to their fears of civil rights pressure by switching Republican.

Two years ago when Carpentier committed his support to a candidate for state treasurer many of his enemies in the party considered it essential to head him off. So they countered by pooling their strength behind a second candidate, the boyish looking Scott. Scott drew much of his support in that successful campaign from the same financial institutions and party leaders who were grooming Chuck Percy for governor in 1964.

OLD-GUARD resistance to Percy involved far more than ideological distrust. Illinois politics doesn't work that way. Courthouse politicians thought they saw the makings, as they described it, of "another Adlai" here. Professionals in both parties have yet to recover from the four years Adlai E. Stevenson spent in the Statehouse in Springfield. Capitol legend has it that the brass railing on the second floor rotunda is still polished bright by Democratic county chairmen who leaned on it while waiting to get in to see the governor about their patronage problems. In one of its stories about a Scott campaign speech, the *Tribune* threw in this line: "Scott did not mention his G.O.P. primary opponent, Charles H. Percy, who was vice chairman of the Conference on World Tensions at which Adlai Stevenson was a leading figure. It was held at the University of Chicago." In the Stevensonian style, Percy includes professors in his entourage. Worse than being just a professor, Percy's chief brain-truster is a political science professor; worse yet, he's from the University of Chicago. Another in the *Tribune's* sinister list of charges against Percy was this gem: "His current campaign newsletter boasts that the *Saturday*

*Review* named him its businessman of the year in 1962.' The *Review* is a liberal publication."

No matter how fervently Percy crossed his heart and pledged allegiance to Goldwater conservatism, the *Tribune* kept reviving his alleged kinship with "eastern interests." The newspaper pointed out repeatedly that Percy served on the board of Chase Manhattan Bank of New York city, an institution that it persisted in calling a "family-owned bank" controlled by the Rockefellers. Actually, the Rockefeller-Aldrich family interest is less than three per cent. It was never mentioned that another Chase Manhattan board member from Illinois is John Swearingen, president of Standard Oil Company of Indiana and probably the state's leading Goldwater champion.

Swearingen's protege, Hayes Robertson, a businessman and the Cook County Republican chairman, also announced his candidacy for governor. Eventually, Robertson offered to step out of the race if either of the others would promise as prospective leader of the Illinois delegation to the San Francisco convention to work throughout the convention for Goldwater's nomination. Each spoke kindly of Goldwater's candidacy, but declined to meet Robertson's specifications. Treasurer Scott helped Percy write his statement of reply to Robertson's offer. Thereupon, Robertson said he would stay in the fight to the end and would do "anything short of murder" to help get Goldwater nominated. He dismissed Percy as a naive tool of the Rockefeller eastern interests. Three days later, Carpentier suffered a heart attack and withdrew from the contest himself.

THE *Tribune* had for many weeks, meanwhile, been promoting a Draft Scott movement with the cooperation of Robertson and a number of downstate county chairmen. Scott replied that he had been elected to a four-year term and would finish as state treasurer. At the same 1962 election Scott's friend and law school classmate, Richard Ogilvie, had been elected sheriff of Cook County. They complement one another nicely. Ogilvie has the dispassionate calculating brain. Scott has the wavy black hair and baby blue eyes. Ogilvie would like to run for governor in 1968. His coolness to Percy had nothing to do with Percy's attitude toward the West Side Bloc or anything else

but his own ambitions. Scott wanted to run for the Senate in 1966. Scott conditioned his support of Percy on being promised an open shot at the Senate in two years. Possibly because he might want to run himself if his quest for governor fails, Percy refused.

Samuel Witwer, a Chicago lawyer who had been the party's unsuccessful nominee against Douglas in 1960, was waiting for a hopeful sign from Percy that Witwer would be a logical choice to try again in 1966. William Rentschler, a young candy company executive, had been displeased because Percy had supported Witwer instead of himself for the senate in 1960; and consequently had now endorsed Carpentier for governor in hopes of being Carpentier's favorite for senator in 1966. All these men were the new type of metropolitan Republican which the party had customarily relegated to money raising functions and little else.

Two days after Carpentier's withdrawal, his associates and Sen. Everett Dirksen's administrative assistant, Harold Rainville, made an unanticipated decision. They pledged themselves to Percy. The handwriting stood out on the wall for Scott and Ogilvie. They were about to be frozen out of party control. The next day, Scott's press agent announced in the early morning hours that the treasurer had changed his mind and would run for governor. Robertson would transfer the mantle of Goldwaterism to Scott and step out. Overnight, reportedly after some prompting from his wife, Scott changed his mind and decided not to run after all. A few hours later, after a telephone conversation with the editor of the *Tribune*, Scott changed his mind again and decided to run, as a matter of principle, out of protest to the Carpentier "deal." With Carpentier out of the picture, Rentschler quickly endorsed his former enemy Percy. When this happened, Witwer endorsed Scott.

What all this does *not* mean is that there has been some significant "collapse of progressivism among mid-west Republicans."

IN the last issue of FOCUS *Midwest*, Richard C. Wade quite appropriately and accurately pointed out how many of the views of Percy the candidate appeared to change course when compared with the image many independents and Democrats acquired of Percy as a "liberal" Republican.



However, to carry the discourse one level further by suggesting that there is a great progressive tradition within the Republican party of Illinois which this candidate has betrayed is, in my opinion, nonsense.

Actually the Progressive movement had relatively little impact upon the Illinois Republican party early in this century when it is viewed alongside Wisconsin and some of the other agricultural states in the Midwest. The Progressives never came close to denting the old-guard's party control in Illinois. The last Illinois Republican who attained a position of rank and could at the end of his term be called a Progressive was Gov. Frank Lowden. There are many interesting parallels between Percy and Lowden, who was a wealthy businessman with reform instincts who resisted William Hale Thompson's patronage demands and stressed efficiency in government. In those days, ironically, the *Tribune* was a mouthpiece for progressivism. In 1920, Lowden's candidate to succeed himself as governor (John G. Oglesby) lost to Len Small. Since then any vestige of progressivism in the Illinois GOP has been in somebody's imagination. Len Small, William Hale Thompson, Robert R. McCormick, C. Wayland Brooks, Everett Dirksen, Dwight Green, William Stratton. Progressives? Quite to the contrary, the party has been among the most anti-progressive of all the states, and increasingly so since 1920 — at least until this important election.

Percy, and everyone else, is running in Illinois in the 1960s, not in Wisconsin in the 1910s. The tradition of know-nothing conservatism in this state is overwhelming. A midwestern tale of considerable relevance can be recalled from 1962. Three old men, Homer Capehart, Alexander Wiley, and Everett Dirksen were running in Indiana, Wisconsin, and Illinois at the same time on much the same issues against Birch Bayh, Gaylord Nelson, and Sidney Yates. Among the Democrats, only Yates had a liberal record of outstanding accomplishment during his years in Congress. Dirksen won, the other two lost. It simply is not true that the G.O.P. deserted its liberal past but voters haven't followed the party in its "defection," as Mr. Wade contends. Since the end of the Lowden regime there have been 28 years of Republican governors and 16 years of Democratic governors in Illinois. Regardless of whatever progressive tradition does

or does not date back to the early years of this century, the significant turning point which still serves as a guideline for voting dynamics in this state occurred in the late 1920s and the early 1930s when the urban masses started voting "progressively" and the rural areas turned staunchly conservative.

Mr. Wade also asserts that the progressive tradition in Illinois was a casualty of the move to the suburbs. If this were true, if there is no hope for the younger, better educated suburban resident to adopt more enlightened attitudes on the great social issues of our time, then the prospect for a progressive Republican party in Illinois is indeed dim. If there is one trait most typical of the cloistered residents of the Hyde Park-University of Chicago community, it is their inability to comprehend the forces that motivate people in the outside world, especially in suburbia. In such unlikely suburbs as Winnetka and Glenview there are signs that conscience is finally beginning to be aroused. Currents of change can be detected in the Republican party in the suburbs where many of the emerging leaders are progressively inclined. If the Illinois Republican party ever adapts to the reality of the mid-twentieth century, the impetus will come from the suburbs and not from downstate, where, progressive heritage notwithstanding, Chicago is still conceived as a vast fearful asphalt jungle where shuttle trains bring Negro rapists from the South and syndicate hoods and crooked cops run rampant.

Whether Chuck Percy is a conservative or not remains to be demonstrated. Along the lines of Rockefeller and Scranton, he describes himself as a fiscal conservative with a concern for human needs and a conviction that the role of the states should be strengthened. His immediate task has been to convince the old-guard conservatives who usually control Republican primaries that the party's future can be safely invested in his hands. At this point in the history of the Illinois G.O.P., a total "progressive" could never be nominated.

*Tom Littlewood, a reporter for the Chicago Sun-Times, covers politics from Springfield, Illinois.*

## REBUTTAL

/Richard C. Wade

*Mr. Littlewood's article questions some of the interpretations of Illinois politics in Richard C. Wade's article "Collapse of Progressivism Among Midwest Republicans" published in the last issue. Mr. Wade's response follows. He is a professor of history at the University of Chicago. We welcome this exchange of learned views. Readers interested in receiving a copy of Vol. II No. 10 with Mr. Wade's article should write: FOCUS/Midwest, P.O.B. 3086, St. Louis 32, Mo.*

TOM Littlewood is one of the ablest reporters covering the Illinois political scene today. Readers of the *Chicago Sun-Times* have come to expect some of the most acute observations on state affairs in his dispatches from Springfield. Much of the article above sustains this high standard.

Especially interesting is his suggestion that one dimension of the present struggle over the Republican nomination for Governor is a newspaper war. Scott is pictured as a tool of the *Tribune* in its attempt to retain control of G.O.P. affairs while Percy represents the hopes of the Field papers, *Sun-times* and *Daily News*, to break the traditional monopoly.

In addition, his account of that incredible weekend following Carpentier's withdrawal from the race with its intrigues and surprises is a succinct explanation of a fascinating, if not wholly edifying, episode.

Yet Mr. Littlewood's article includes some criticism of my analysis of the decline of Republican progressivism in the Middle West which deserves comment.

1.) After detailing the entrance of Scott into the race against Percy with the consequent shuffling of alliances, he observes that "all this does *not* mean that there has been some significant 'collapse of progressivism among midwest Republicans.'" So far as I know, no one ever said it did. My article was written before Carpentier's withdrawal and hence never mentioned the Scott candidacy.

2.) I did say, however, that Republicans made significant contribu-



tions to the Progressive era at the beginning of the century. Illinois was no exception. Indeed, in the election of 1912 Theodore Roosevelt, while narrowly losing to Wilson, ran ahead of Taft in Illinois by a substantial margin, 386,478 to 253,613. As Mr. Littlewood observes some of that tradition held on into the Lowden regime. I merely noticed that after this time progressives virtually disappeared from the G.O.P. and tended to congregate in the Democratic party. Mr. Littlewood's account of Republican affairs in the last three decades simply emphasizes my point.

I also contended that a large contingent of voters continued to be progressive even though the G.O.P. shed its liberal wing. They were the people who elected Democratic governors, sent Paul Douglas to the Senate and put Illinois in the Roosevelt, Truman, and Kennedy columns. I cannot share Mr. Littlewood's view that "the tradition of know-nothing conservatism in this state is overwhelming." If it were, he could hardly describe a liberal like Douglas as being "unbeatable."

3.) The author further observes that Illinois in the 1960's is not Wisconsin in the 1910's. Of course, that is precisely the contrast to which I addressed myself. I suggested that one important clue to the change could be found in the rising significance of the suburbs in Republican affairs, characterizing it as "the suburban captivity of the G.O.P." Everything in Mr. Littlewood's account of the present race sustains this analysis. Percy is from Kenilworth, Scott is from Evanston, nearly all the major figures in the internecine drama represent this element. And surely the toughest guerilla warfare among the factions is taking place in the townships around the city.

4.) I am sorry to destroy Mr. Littlewood's comfortable stereotype about Hyde Parkers whom he declares are "cloistered" and unable to "comprehend the forces which motivate people . . . in suburbia." Presumably they do not understand that "there are signs that conscience is finally being aroused" even "in such unlikely suburbs as Winnetka and Glenview." I do live in Hyde Park but I have also written at length elsewhere that the old political conformity in the suburbs is breaking up, and that what is happening in Winnetka and Glenview far from being "unlikely" is increasingly typical.

Indeed what is most disappointing about Percy's campaign is its assump-

tion that the suburbs have not changed since the sociologists studied them ten years ago and that they are all alike, are all conservative, and all are mad for Goldwater. If he had been willing, he could have tapped the growing political enlightenment of these communities and put himself at the head of one of the most important political movements of the next decade.

5.) Finally, Mr. Littlewood has as much trouble as the rest of us in identifying Percy's political position. At one place he refers to him as a "modern" Republican; at another he finds him "along the lines of Rockefeller and Scranton"; at another he describes Percy as "fervently" crossing his heart and pledging allegiance to Goldwater. "Whether Chuck Percy is a conservative or not," he concludes, "remains to be demonstrated." This is strange, for Percy has been in politics for a half dozen years and has been campaigning for several months. If a reporter of Mr. Littlewood's knowledge and skill cannot find any consistency, is it any wonder that others are bewildered. No matter what Percy's convictions on the large questions turn out to be, it must be said that for the moment at least they are the best kept secret in Illinois politics.

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## LeRoy Neiman



*Artist LeRoy Neiman is a big-city dweller — Chicago, London, Paris, New York. His paintings record the crowds, the excitement, the vibrancy of city life. His works have been widely shown, both in prestigious international exhibitions and in nine one-man shows, and have been well received by critics. Neiman was born in St. Paul, Minnesota and was on the faculty of the Art Institute of Chicago for ten years. He has won numerous prizes and is represented in the public collections of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Illinois State Museum, Joslyn Museum (Ohio), and Wodham College (England).*

*"Limousiness" was drawn for FOCUS/Midwest. The opera crowds, dutiful chauffeurs, doormen, the drunks, and the prostitutes, they emerge at dark touched up by the use of limousines. Some ride in front, some in the back; except for that last limousine ride.*

Please Turn Page











# School Boycotts:

- *Boycott Leaders or opponents influence but do not determine events*
- *Civil Rights' leaders are caught in a squeeze: they must produce*
- *The movement for equality cannot be stopped within the American political framework*

**D**ESPITE tremendous opposition from many quarters, a rash of school boycotts have swept Northern cities.

Freedom Day II — the second Civil Rights' boycott of Chicago's public schools — saw 172,350 of the system's 463,516 elementary and high school students absent.

Although less effective numerically than the first school boycott, the high percentage of absenteeism in the Negro community occurred in spite of strong and organized opposition.

Boycott leaders termed Freedom Day II even more of a "success" than Freedom Day I because of the tremendous pressures brought to bear by Mayor Daley, intervention by a Federal Judge, door-to-door canvassing against the boycott by Democratic precinct captains, and threat of legal prosecution of boycott leaders by the State's Attorney.

The mass media — except the *Chicago Defender* — were solidly in opposition as were many white liberals who had supported the first boycott. Added to this was a split in the actual ranks of Civil Rights' groups, with two of the major groups not participating in the boycott.

When looking at the Chicago Civil Rights' movement, the effectiveness of the boycott or the number of students absent above the usual percentage, are not the most important factors. Both the boycott leaders and opponents, here caught in a confrontation of power, influence but do not determine the course of events in Chicago. Current leadership, pro and con may accelerate or slow down, intensify or modify action at any one moment; but the broad unwavering movement is beyond the control of all public leaders. Regardless of the

public differences among leaders in the community, the people who are the key pushers of the movement will decide and are deciding what will happen and the leadership is discovering that however logical or illogical its arguments — it must lead or step out of the way.

The Civil Rights' leaders, militant or not, are caught in an embarrassing and exposed squeeze. They must produce. Their followers anxiously demand and expect to be led. The followers and the leadership know and can articulate their goals, but strategies and techniques are debatable. In the process, the one may be mistaken for the other — sometimes even deliberately by the "white" press. But there is no time to evaluate.

The movement for equality, furious but non-violent, cannot be stopped within the American political framework. It is not negotiable. Too little attention has been paid to the relationship of this movement to its leaders. To influence events — the followers — not the leaders, must be convinced. And they will only be convinced by concrete and specific steps which do not smack of tokenism. It appears that the boycott leaders in the Chicago community understand this.

The intensity of public feeling was brought home forcefully to the boycott organizers. Before the first and the second boycotts — for different reasons — its leaders were mildly apprehensive as to its possible outcome. The support of the boycotts gave the answer. A detailed study, in particular of the first boycott, its cause and evolution, will underline this contention; the leaders and opponents

of the boycott play a public, but not decisive role.

## *The Core of Dissatisfaction*

How segregated are Chicago's schools? The Chicago Urban League had long waged a battle to present to the Chicago community facts and figures relative to segregation in the school system. The United States Commission on Civil Rights in its 1963 report said:

"... The proportionate size of the minority group enrollment does not entirely determine the percentage of segregated schools. At the elementary level, Chicago, with the same proportional minority group enrollment as New York, has over 60 per cent more segregated schools. Chicago has tenaciously confined its Negro pupils to neighborhood schools . . . (and) . . . refused to rezone attendance areas on the fringe of the concentrated Negro residential areas . . ."

The school board released figures on the racial composition in the Chicago public school system in October 1963. These figures showed that three-fourths of the schools in the city are 90 per cent or more Negro or 90 per cent or more white. The census was the first step in complying with the Armstrong Law passed in the 1963 session of the Illinois General Assembly, which directed boards of education to change attendance areas in order to prevent segregation.

While the racial headcount was quietly being taken in the schools, other events were sweeping the community up into the greatest school crisis since public protest forced the notoriously corrupt General Superintendent William Johnson out in 1947.

Chicago's school problems are similar to those of other big cities. Housing segregation and the practice of assigning pupils to neighborhood schools result in school segre-

# Only The Beginning

gation unless measures are taken to correct racial imbalance. What measures — if any — should be taken and how and when to take them is at the heart of the controversy in Chicago.

Negro parents contend that their children get poorer education because of crowded classrooms, frequent teacher and administrative changes, high pupil mobility, inexperienced teachers, and less expenditures per pupil. Negro parents further charge that school attendance areas are drawn to conform to the shifting Negro residential areas, and that new school construction sites and mobile classrooms are used to contain Negroes in their own neighborhoods.

The answer of the school board and Benjamin C. Willis, school superintendent, has been that the school situation results from de facto neighborhood segregation, which the school board is powerless to prevent and which it has no obligation to remedy.

The time-honored neighborhood school policy — where children go to school in the neighborhood where they live — is under attack. This policy is the result of state law which requires boards of education to set up attendance areas. It has become an emotionally — charged concept, and its implementation is affected by strong prejudices in housing and the fear of white parents that their neighborhoods will be inundated by poorly prepared Negro children. Transferring Negro children out of their neighborhoods seems to crystalize white opposition to school integration.

## *Willis' Resignation and The Transfer Plan*

On October 4, 1963, School Superintendent Benjamin C. Willis resigned. Superintendent Willis had long been criticized by civil rights groups for his failure to take heed of the complaints of the Negro com-

munity about the schools. In his resignation, according to the *New York Times*, Superintendent Willis "accused the Board of taking 'discriminatory action' in setting up a school transfer program growing out of a long dispute with Civil Rights' groups."

The resignation was directly caused by a dispute over a limited plan to transfer students.

Under the plan a small group of gifted children (some of whom were Negro) could transfer to selected schools (most of which were white). The plan took on an emotional significance, in both Negro and white communities, which was far out of line with the number of students it would affect.

It was in mid-August only after much pressure upon the Superintendent and the Board, that the Superintendent made public this transfer plan which was approved by the board.

The plan would permit high school students in fourteen schools not offering full programs of honors and advanced classes and who rank in the top 5 per cent of their classes on city-wide standardized tests, to transfer to twenty four general high schools offering honor courses.

One of the receiving high schools was all-white. Many parents of students at the school began picketing to protest the acceptance of any outside students, alleging that the school was overcrowded.

Representatives of this group met with Board President Clair M. Roddewig. The meeting was preceded by picketing of the Board of Education building by the white parents (many of whom had come to the board from City Hall where they had picketed against a Fair-Housing ordinance).

Although picketing parents insisted no racial issue was involved, the demonstrations were the first massive counter protest from the white community, and the demonstrators came

from a neighborhood that is all-white and which has historically been anti-Negro.

The response of Dr. Willis to the expressed discontent of the white parents was to retreat. A revised plan, was announced by him, reducing the list of potential receiving schools from 14 to 9.

Dr. Willis' retreat from the controversial student-transfer plan made a hot issue even hotter. Dr. Willis indicated that the number of potential receiving schools was reduced after a review of enrollment factors. Although such action represented a change in the plan approved by the Board, it was taken by Willis without consultation with the Board. Significantly, two of the schools which had been the scene of mass demonstrations by white parents were removed. The reaction of the community was swift — with high praise from some quarters and condemnation from others.

In one area, where attempts to achieve interracial stability were being made, both schools available to the students were dropped. Organizations protested to board members and school administrators. The Board, acting on a recommendation of the President and without consulting the Superintendent voted 9 to 0 directing him to reverse his decision and permit the transfer of the students to two high schools removed from the list.

Two days later, the Superintendent announced he would not execute the order, that the transfers would be held in abeyance until the next meeting of the Board. The transfer plan had thus been altered for the third time in less than two months.

The parents of four students involved in the transfer filed a suit to compel Superintendent Willis to comply with the Board of Education order. The Superior Court officially ordered the Superintendent to transfer the students, a decision upheld by the Appellate Court. Bailiffs waited in the Board of Education Offices and



## *School Boycotts: Only A Beginning*

at the home of Benjamin Willis, but Willis successfully evaded their attempts to serve him with the court orders.

While still evading the bailiffs, Dr. Willis resigned.

### *The Community Reacts*

The reaction in the Negro community to Benjamin Willis' resignation was like an electric shock — up to this time he had seemed to be invincible! Although there was no dancing in the streets, strategy meetings and victory parties were quickly called. Within three days the picture had changed drastically.

White property owners, large segments of the business community, educators, and many teachers and principals in the public school system all defended the Superintendent. Board of Education members were flooded with telegrams, letters, and telephone calls urging them to reconsider Dr. Willis' resignation. Professional educators from all cities except Chicago rallied to his support. However, three of Chicago's major newspapers came out in favor of the resignation; major religious, community, and civil rights groups urged that the Board accept the resignation.

After submitting his resignation, Dr. Willis absented himself for eleven days.

Meanwhile the Board of Education voted to reject Willis' resignation and set up a three-man committee to persuade the Superintendent to return and to resolve the differences between the Board and Dr. Willis.

The Mayor's office — unusually quiet during the furor — maintained a position of non-interference in school board matters. The Mayor, after a deluge of support for Willis and the Board's decision to ask him to stay, declared in a TV interview that he was sure the Board and Dr. Willis could work out their differences around the conference table, adding, "I think it's pretty much hoped by everyone that he (Willis) comes back."

Reaction on the Board was mixed. The two men who voted to accept the resignation criticized the attempts to try to get him back. One of them said that Willis was using his resignation as a lever to force his domination over the Board. The other felt that the Board was vacillating too much in its dealings with the Superintendent.

Civil rights, religious, and civic organizations expressed great dismay

that the Superintendent might agree to remain. The Board's vote to ask him to return was undoubtedly influenced by the swell of support for Willis which came from powerful forces. Its capitulation also reflected its uncertainty that perhaps it had over-stepped the fine line that separates policy-making from administration.

Shock and joy upon the news of Dr. Willis' resignation, incredulity at the white power structure's defense of the Superintendent, dismay at the Board's apparent capitulation, and finally fury swept the Negro community. The support for Dr. Willis was interpreted as an indication of approval of his policies alleged to maintain segregation. While the intellectuals and civil rights pondered strategy, the average Negro watched the television accounts, read his *Defender* (the metropolitan Negro daily newspaper) and quietly (and some not so quietly) made up his mind that "Willis Must Go." In this the Negro community was joined by thousands of white sympathizers and the majority of the Chicago papers.

The peace-making efforts of the three-man committee of the Board of Education resulted in Willis' withdrawing his resignation and agreeing to stay on. The Board approved and agreed to establish principles of operation and responsibility in its relationship with Dr. Willis. This bargain was made on faith alone.

### *Freedom Day In The Making*

The school boycott, Freedom Day, October 22, 1963 was called by the Coordinating Council of Community Organizations (CCCCO), a council representing over twenty intergroup, civil rights, community, and other organizations whose major purposes are to foster racial understanding in Chicago. The groups demanded that the Board reverse itself and accept Willis' resignation. The City's Negro aldermen, previously dubbed the "silent six" for their reluctance to speak out on civil rights matters, also opposed Willis' remaining.

Lawrence Landry, co-chairman of the Chicago Area Friends of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, who originated the boycott plan, was made chairman of the Freedom Day, school boycott committee. Headquarters for its organization and the rallying point for all subsequent activity was the Appomattox Club, one of the oldest Negro social clubs in the city.

As soon as the Coordinating Coun-

cil approved the boycott, organizers went to work, among them many who dared not visibly participate. Many of them had worked on the Chicago March-on-Washington.

The office was manned around the clock principally by members of the Chicago Area Friends of SNCC.

Although feelings — both pro and con — had been running high, no one knew for sure whether the Negro and the white community would support the school boycott. A conservative estimate was that the boycott would involve 45 to 60 of Chicago's 500 schools, and affect about 30,000 children, mainly in Negro neighborhoods.

The first strategy meeting brought together — perhaps for the first time — groups and individuals from all parts of the city — South, North, and West, white and Negro. A large map of the city, divided into school districts, was the key tool. Various community groups decided which schools they would be responsible for "emptying" on the day of the boycott. Taking responsibility for a school meant leafleting the school, talking to all parents, calling local strategy meetings of parents, organizing telephone campaigns, finding places for children to stay, and supervision for those with working parents.

Every section of the city represented at the meeting was broken down on a neighborhood-by-neighborhood basis. A special meeting was held with ministers to gain their support. Announcements were made in churches. A secondary slogan for the day was "Send your child to church on Freedom Day, October 22." Almost without exception the churches responded by agreeing to hold special Freedom Day classes.

A committee was set up to contact the settlement houses, neighborhood centers, and youth-serving agencies to arrange for special classes for that day. Milk companies were contacted to donate free milk. All of these contacts paid off.

Young high school and college students held their own meetings. Within each school a cadre of young people held Freedom Day rallies every day for the ten days preceding the boycott, and did much of the organizational work.

A speakers' bureau was organized. Radio and TV interviews were used. At the urging of the Chicago Commission on Youth Welfare, special appeals were made to teen-agers through the radio disk jockeys, concerning the non-violent aspects of the protest.

The six telephones at the Freedom Day headquarters were ringing constantly. A large school district map of the city was used to pinpoint the activities of the volunteers as they called in information as to whether a school had been covered and approximately how many pupils could be expected to stay home. As the efforts intensified, thousands of people came into the headquarters to pick up stickers, posters, and leaflets or to volunteer for other tasks. Young and old, lay and professional, veteran civil rights fighters and those who had never been involved in any direct protest action, Negro and white, mingled with newspaper reporters, TV cameramen, and radio newscasters with tape recorders.

Behind the scenes a quiet but significant group was hard at work: Teachers for Integrated Schools, a member of the Coordinating Council. The teachers prepared a special kit of curriculum materials which were to be used in Freedom Day schools set up throughout the city. The lessons dealt primarily with such Negro figures in American history as Crispus Attucks, George Washington Carver, Harriet Tubman, and Jean Baptist DuSable (first permanent settler in Chicago). They also developed Freedom Day diplomas which declared that the student "has satisfactorily completed the requirements of a one-day institute on securing the freedom of all children in Chicago to receive equal educational opportunities, that they may be able as equals to build a better life for themselves and a better world for all."

The night before Freedom Day, sound trucks had been dispersed to several sections of the city to encourage parents to keep their children home and urging them to take part in the mass demonstration which was to take place around City Hall and the Board of Education during the afternoon of the boycott. Transportation had been arranged to bring groups from the neighborhoods to the downtown area. Picket signs had been made and picket captains briefed. Seven hundred thousand leaflets had been distributed. The lesson plans for the Freedom Schools had been distributed to the 144 locations where such schools would be held, and volunteer teachers were assigned.

Copies of 13 demands drawn up by the CCCO and an affiliate group, Parents Council for Integrated Schools, had been submitted to each member of the Board of Education. The proposals included demands that

Superintendent Willis be fired and that the Board adopt a policy of integrating teaching staff and schools.

It was estimated that out of 176 public schools, about 21 would have an absenteeism of more than 50 per cent and the remaining schools from below 10 per cent to 30 per cent.

Boycott organizers recognized that the Illinois School Code provides fines and imprisonment for those persons inducing children to violate state attendance requirements. What application of the law to the Freedom Day school boycott might be made was not known, but all were aware that they might be penalized.

#### *Freedom Day, October 22*

Apprehension hung over the city. Law enforcement, school, and government officials were alert to the prospects of racial incidents at one of the high schools which had been the scene of conflicts in the days immediately preceding the boycott.

The phones in the Freedom Day headquarters, where workers had spent the night, began to ring at 8:00 a.m. Crossing Guards reported that streets normally crowded with children were deserted. By 8:30 a.m., the boycott was an assured success. Parents assigned to various schools reported as few as ten students going into buildings which normally hold thousands.

By mid-morning with only 50 schools reporting, the unofficial estimate was more than 50,000 pupils out of school, with absenteeism ranging from 30 per cent in a predominantly white school to 100 per cent in a Negro school consisting entirely of mobile classrooms.

Newspaper reporters walked the quiet corridors of Negro schools and found only a handful of children. Where were the children? Most stayed in their homes but many thousands attended the Freedom Schools.

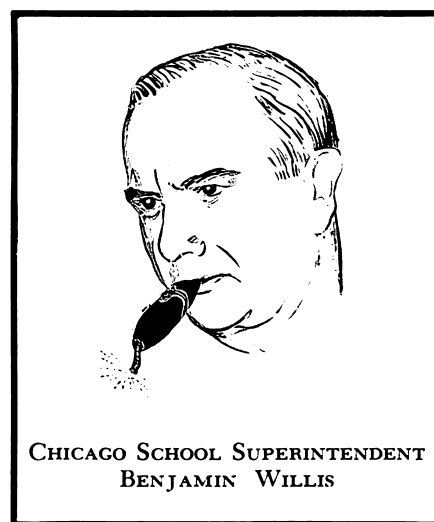
Some of the high school students (both Negro and white) participated in radio interviews, picketed the Board of Education, and provided volunteer teachers in the Freedom Schools.

During the afternoon a mass rally was held around City Hall and the Board of Education. Depending on who was doing the counting, the number of people who took part was estimated at between 10,000 and 20,000. The demonstrators, mostly Negroes, represented a cross-section of the Negro community — political figures, socialites, businessmen, ministers, housewives, students — whole

families marched together. The large participation of white persons — notably religious leaders — was evidence of a well-integrated protest.

There was no mistaking the theme of the mass rally as speaker after speaker called for Willis' removal and the crowd roared its approval.

By late afternoon, School Superintendent Benjamin Willis reported that 224,770 of the 469,733 students enrolled in elementary and high schools were absent from classes. (It was pointed out that normal absenteeism for any day would be around 32,000 or 7 per cent). Dr. Willis said that the percentage of elementary student absences was 51.4 per cent, and the absenteeism in the high schools ran to 38.4 per cent.



On the day of the boycott the Board of Education was given the results of the first official survey of the racial composition of each public school. It showed that the elementary enrollment was 46.1 per cent white; 50.9 per cent Negro, and 3 per cent Oriental or Indian. (Elementary School boycott absenteeism, 51.4 per cent). In the high schools, enrollment was 64.5 per cent white; 33.8 per cent Negro and 1.7 per cent Oriental or Indian. (High school boycott absenteeism, 38.4 per cent.)

A school-by-school analysis of absenteeism showed that in all-Negro schools, figures ran from 90 to 100 per cent effective. In schools with some white pupils, figures ran from 75 to 85 per cent. In schools with predominantly white pupils, figures ranged from 10 to 50 per cent.

The one-day demonstration. Dr. Willis estimated, would cost the Board as much as \$470,000 in state aid funds.

Critics of the boycott, although awed by the massive anti-Willis senti-

*Continued on Page 29*



# The Golden Age of the Bench and Bar

St. Louis celebrated its 200th birthday on February 14. The Bicentennial Commission plans a three-year celebration to mark the historic event. During this period the monumental 630-foot stainless steel arch, symbolic of St. Louis as the Gateway to the West, will be dedicated and the gigantic Busch Stadium, outdoing the Roman Coliseum in size and grandeur, will be opened.

City and County lawyers will participate in every phase of the 200th Anniversary of St. Louis. They and their predecessors have played a notable and, sometimes, bizarre role in the evolution of the little French village of Paincourt (short of bread) into the City of St. Louis.

St. Louis had no lawyer from 1781 to 1803. Houck in his delightful *History of Missouri* points out that during the French-Spanish occupation of Upper Louisiana, there was little need for lawyers. Aside from this interlude lawyers acted out their roles, often flamboyantly, first in a little court room on the river front, then in the Old Court House on Broadway, and now in the skyscraper topped by a dubious Greek Temple on the Plaza. U. S. Senator Barton; Francis Blair, who saved Missouri for the Union; Doniphan who led one of the longest military marches in history to win the Southwest; and Henry S. Geyer, Missouri's great defender in the Dred Scott case, are identified with the Old Court House.

There, too, Charles Drake, naval hero and Constitution writer; Carl Schurz, the German-born American statesman; and the silver-tongued Negro James Milton Turner, a former slave, swayed and captivated audiences.

## *They Came By The Score*

When Governor St. Ange came in 1766 from Fort Chartres to take command of St. Louis for the Spanish, he was accompanied by Joseph Lefebre and Joseph Labusciere, French notaries (lawyers). Their names appear on many documents and land titles still in existence. Lefebre died in 1767, and Labuciere left St. Louis in 1781 to live in Cahokia across the river.

With President Jefferson's purchase of the whole Mississippi valley, immigrants swarmed into Missouri,

particularly into St. Louis, creating a land boom. Irregular land grants, squatters, and claim jumpers generated title contests. Courts were set up and lawyers were much needed. Between 1804 and the admission of Missouri to the Union, they came from every state, as well as from England, France, Ireland, and Germany. They settled in Ste. Genevieve, New Madrid, and St. Louis.

They were a "brawlin', fightin', feudin'" crew as ever graced the bench and bar of any city or state but, nevertheless, able, eloquent, and learned in the law. The lawyers fought most of their duels on Bloody Island, frequented the inns and taverns, and gambled away their fees.



Yet, these lawyers were, for the most part, learned classical scholars. Harvard, Princeton, and Yale furnished many. Some came from the University of Dublin and the English Inns of Court.

## *Isaac Darnielle*

Isaac Darnielle was the first lawyer to come to St. Louis after the Louisiana Purchase. He migrated from Maryland to Cahokia in 1794, moving across the river to St. Louis in 1803. Darnielle was a college man, handsome, a meticulous dresser, the Beau Brummel of the frontier bar,

loved by women. He wooed them all, lived with some, but never married.

## *Nathaniel B. Tucker*

St. Louis' most peculiar lawyer was Nathaniel B. Tucker, half brother of that moody and sometimes seemingly deranged genius, John Randolph of Roanoke. He was a scholar and able lawyer but his office was in a hollow tree near Florissant. Cutting off a sycamore tree ten feet above the ground, he cleaned out the inside, made a door, put in a rude bench and a table, and hung out his shingle. He was outstanding as a judge. When a grand jury returned an indictment, he would immediately ride to the locality and start the trial. He didn't wait for long briefs which either belabor the obvious or torture common sense.

## *John Rice Jones*

John Rice Jones, a Welshman, educated at Oxford, came to America during the Revolutionary War and was with George Rogers Clark when he captured Kaskaskia and Vincennes. He practiced law in Ste. Genevieve, St. Louis, and Potosi, and was one of Missouri's first Supreme Court judges. He often represented Moses Austin who operated the lead mines at Mine a Breton. He named the place Potosi, founded a lead smelter on the Mississippi, and called the place Herculaneum. (Austin with his son, Stephen Austin, were the fathers of the State of Texas.)

## *Edward Hempstead*

Edward Hempstead was known as the "Barking Lawyer." This undignified sobriquet resulted from his "fierce, sharp, barking manner of speaking," by which he gained the attention of the jury and overawed them to win his cases. The young lawyers imitated him. Hempstead was the first delegate to the United States Congress from the Missouri Territory.

## *James Hawkins Peck and Luke Lawless*

Federal Judge James Hawkins Peck was an eccentric of the first magnitude. Tall, handsome, with bright expressive eyes, he suffered from a phobia that the sunlight would blind him. He wrapped his head in white cloth and had his servant lead him to the courthouse where he mounted the Bench and listened to evidence and arguments without seeing either

# in St. Louis / *BRYAN PURTEET*

the lawyers or the witnesses. Peck had a habit of sniffing which the wags seized upon to call him "The Smelling Judge" who decided cases on scent.

Luke Lawless, the stormy petrel of the early St. Louis Bar, felt Judge Peck lacked scent or sense, for he wrote an article for the "Enquirer" (of which Thomas Hart Benton was editor), criticising one of Peck's land claim judgments. Peck cited the paper and Lawless for contempt, sentenced him to jail for 24 hours, and suspended him from practice for eighteen months.

Lawless was an Irishman, a graduate of Dublin University, and soldier of fortune. He filed charges in the United States House of Representatives alleging that Peck was guilty of



tyranny and oppression in office. The House voted Articles of Impeachment. Almost every member of the St. Louis Bar participated in the case either as counsel or witness. Judge Peck was acquitted. His decision was reversed.

## *John Smith "T"*

St. Louis was a river town and frequented by wild adventurers who came to town to have a "time." Gun battles, stabbings, and fights in saloons and brothels were common. Most lawyers went armed. It was not uncommon for judges to sit on the bench with pistols at their sides.

John Smith "T" who served for several years as Territorial Judge in Ste. Genevieve District was always armed. John Smith "T" was a debonaire killer and land speculator who



came to Missouri from Georgia by way of Tennessee, where he added the "T" to his name. The "T", as he was called, was credited with 15 notches on his gun. His knowledge of law and the fact that he hired the best lawyers got him acquitted on a number of murder charges, including the killing of Lionel Brown, Aaron Burr's nephew.

## *Abraham Lincoln*

Lawyers from Illinois came to the islands in the Mississippi to fight duels, among them Abraham Lincoln.

Abe Lincoln and James Shields, later a United States Senator, travelled to an island on the Missouri side of the Mississippi, opposite Alton, to fight a duel.

Lincoln had written some amusing letters chiding the Democrats and signed them Aunt Rebecca. Mary Todd and Julia Jayne, as a joke, wrote an Aunt Rebecca letter of their own to which they added some verses reflecting on Shields. The editor came to Lincoln with Shield's demand to name the author. Lincoln, to protect the girls, authorized the editor to inform Shields that he had written the letters. Shields challenged Lincoln.

Lincoln accepted and stated the terms: cavalry broadswords of equal length; a plank to be placed between beyond which neither could advance; each man to stand on his side of the plank the length of the sword plus three feet.

Lincoln was 6 feet 4 inches tall, with a long reach; Shields, 5 feet 6 inches with short arms. With Lincoln's long reach, Shields would have had no chance. Friends intervened to tell Shields that Lincoln had not written the letter, and the duel was called off.

## *Thomas Hart Benton*

In earlier days, duels may have been an extralegal but acceptable way of settling differences. Thomas Hart Benton, Missouri's famous Senator, and Charles Lucas fought two bloody duels.

Without shorthand reporters in the early days, what had been the evi-

*They Were "feudin',  
fightin',  
and fussin' "*

ence in a court case depended on memory. Benton and Lucas heatedly disputed the evidence in a case Benton had lost. In a fit of rage and disappointment Benton challenged Lucas to a duel. Lucas declined. Benton published him as a coward and poltroon.

Later, at an election held on August 4, 1817, Lucas questioned Benton's right to vote. Benton cussed out Lucas. Lucas, still smarting under the earlier insult, challenged Benton. They met on Bloody Island. Lucas was shot through the neck and Benton in the knee. Lucas acknowledged satisfaction but Benton refused and demanded another meeting. In the second duel Benton shot Lucas through the heart and he died within an hour. The people disliked Benton's conduct and some denounced him as a murderer.

When Missouri became a state, Judge J. B. C. Lucas, the father of Charles Lucas, was a candidate against Benton for appointment as U. S. Senator. Benton would have been decisively defeated except for the support of Auguste Chouteau, the leader of the French inhabitants. He induced others to vote for Benton on the ground that Benton would support confirmation of Spanish land grants made to Chouteau and other early French settlers, while Judge Lucas would oppose confirmation. Benton regained his popularity and served thirty years in the U. S. Senate where he became as famous as Clay, Calhoun, and Webster with whom he served.

Practically every one of the lawyers who came to Missouri in its territorial days played important roles in the formation of the State and held high office in the executive, legislative, or judicial branches of government despite their duelling scars or political jousts.

The St. Louis Bicentennial also celebrates the memory of the saints and sinners of the bench and bar who cut the legal trails others now follow.

*Bryan Purteet is a St. Louis attorney interested in the history of St. Louis and the Mississippi valley. He is a former Assistant U. S. Attorney and has published many articles in law journals.*



**D**RUG addiction is not recognized as a critical problem in the St. Louis area. Like so many other social problems it is chiefly ignored and left to the police who by and large are doing a good "police" job. However, for those who see drug addiction as a social disease, there are several thousand sick people in St. Louis who are being treated by the underworld for their drug supply, and who are periodically treated in a somewhat different and equally ineffective way by its police, courts, and prisons. Not only are our present

methods ineffective, they are extremely costly: 15 full-time police officers, the services of courts, the cost of maintenance of prisons, and the dramatic loss through shop-lifting and other crimes perpetrated daily in great numbers to provide funds to addicts for their drugs.

Nationally, there is a beginning of creative programs. (It is generally recognized that our prison-hospitals in Lexington and Ft. Worth are failures. The recidivism of addicts from New York City treated in Lexington is known to be well over 90 per

cent.) The National Association for the Prevention of Addiction to Narcotics is initiating a program of halfway houses in four of our major cities. These are for addicts who have been detoxified and released from a hospital or a prison, and are to help the addict make a successful transition to normal living and to avoid relapse. Synanon, a voluntary group of organized former addicts, operates in Los Angeles and Connecticut through group support and self-help with encouraging results. A real national program with a revamping of

## ADDICTS: Criminal or Sick? / Joseph R. Rosenbloom



our antiquated laws which see the addict as a criminal is still in the future.

In St. Louis, we will probably have to await several crises in some of our better suburbs for an aroused citizenry to demand and effect action.

**S**INCE returning to St. Louis almost three years ago, I have consulted with the narcotics squads of St. Louis and St. Louis County concerning several addicts. What follows about the St. Louis situation is based for the most

part on conversations with the squads.

The City of St. Louis has a narcotics squad of seven men who spend their time tracking leads and making sales to incriminate known or suspected addicts and pushers. Approximately 1000 addicts are known to the police by name. Their names are on file and in most instances they have been arrested for investigation and in many cases incarcerated at least once. At any one time about 25 per cent of these will be in jail. The police estimate that there may be another 1000 unknown to them.

While drug addicts will be arrested for stealing, forging checks, prostitution among other crimes, only 283 arrests were made in 1963 for drug violations of one kind or another. Ninety-five warrants were issued, 48 received prison sentences, and 28 cases are still pending. With a scarcity of drugs, there is increased use of amphetamines (dexadrine) which do not cause physical dependence, and which in general have an exhilarating effect. While there were 15-25 known regular users in 1959, there were 214 in 1963. The city police

cooperate closely with the federal narcotics officers, four of whom are usually assigned to St. Louis. Most of the drugs used in St. Louis are shipped from Chicago. The police do not believe that the drug traffic is centrally organized in St. Louis or is a part of organized crime.

There are virtually no opportunities for treatment of drug addiction in St. Louis. A former staff psychiatrist at Malcolm Bliss Hospital stated that not all addicts would be accepted. They had to be in acute withdrawal. If this was not the case they could be accepted as out-patients but would have to go through withdrawal on their own. He estimated that there would be approximately 20-25 addicts per year who got in chiefly by lying about their withdrawal. They also admitted some 30 amphetamine addicts who were thought to be dangerous, as well as 15-20 barbiturate addicts whose withdrawal could be fatal. This highly restrictive policy exists because of a desperate shortage of psychiatric beds in St. Louis, which compels the staff to admit only known homicidal patients and those known to be seriously afflicted.

St. Louis County has a narcotics squad of two. During 1963 they made 360 investigations and 104 arrests. This in comparison to two arrests in 1956 and 45 in 1959. In addition these officers give a great number of preventative talks before school and other groups, as well as check the records of more than 200 pharmacies in the county. While heroin is the favorite drug in the city, it is little used in the county where most of the addicts use the "exempt" drugs, paragoric, barbiturates, and the amphetamines. While virtually all of the addicts in the city are Negro, 60 per cent in the county are white, and many of the 40 per cent of the Negroes arrested in the county come from the city.

FROM the earliest times man has sought out and found pharmacological agents to modify his moods and emotions. The earliest recorded use of opiates was in ancient Sumeria, ca. 5,000-6,000 B.C. Man has used such substances to escape reality and the anxieties of the human situation, and to find transcendence above his humanity. Many persons, perhaps all to some extent, have a psychological need to gain release sometimes from the sober state. How this is achieved depends upon the availability of the

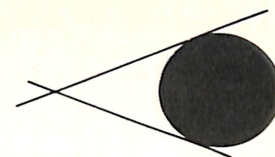
drug or agent used. Addiction will, in turn, depend upon the specific agent and its addicting quality. For instance, heroin is addicting, while marihuana is not.

While a drug or other agent may not cause addiction, individuals frequently become psychologically addicted to various activities. In this sense, we would define addiction as any compulsive activity which provides release to inner anxiety. With a definition as general as this, we would see great numbers of people as addicted within a hierarchy of addictions, with quantities increasing to allay increasing tension, transferring to a more potent agent when necessary. In the first range, we would include compulsive reading, TV watching, chess playing, over-eating, and the like. In the next, smoking and such relatively impotent drugs as aspirins. In the last, alcohol, the barbiturates, the opiates, and such other drugs as the amphetamines and mescaline. While addiction to all of these is psychological, only in such instances as with the opiates and alcohol is there also physical dependence which is characterized by the rather violent reactions which accompany sudden withdrawal.

From many studies and from personal experience, it seems to me that addiction-prone individuals, particularly those addicted to the opiates, have chaotic and traumatic childhoods, and usually seem to have weak egos, characterized by indefiniteness, purposelessness, lack of drive, and general malaise. Such individuals living where opiates are readily available are likely to become drug addicts. Living in areas where opiates are not available they will use other agents or act out against society in another way.

Although human beings have been ingesting various substances for some 8,000 years, there remains little consensus on the causes and cures, if there be any, for addiction.

*Rabbi Joseph R. Rosenbloom served for five years as Chaplain at the Federal Narcotics Hospital in Lexington, Ky. His articles on drug addiction have appeared in Psychological Reports, Jazz Review, The Reporter, and the Journal of the Central Conference of American Rabbis. He is rabbi of Temple Emanuel, St. Louis, and lectures in the History and Classics Departments at Washington University.*



## BOOKS FOR FOCUS

About *Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia* (\$179.50 in Imperial binding others priced lower), the publisher says "seldom in the history of publishing has there been such a wide-ranging editorial revision program as the one that has resulted in the 1964 edition. . . ." This new edition is pictorially rich and reports on such recent events as the assassination of John F. Kennedy. Since this is a reference work meant primarily for the use of students, we checked the usefulness of six, randomly chosen entries. We must report that we batted fifty.

The first we examined was "Ballet." Without losing the general reader in a welter of technical terms, the article gave an accurate sketch of the nature of this art form, its history, and the important performers, companies, and choreographers at work today.

Next we sampled "Chicago." The article is accurate as far as it goes, the data presented are up to date, but it gives no real picture of the social changes which trouble this city. A work of reference should not be merely a travelogue. The students who use this work will know what Chicago looks like, how big it is, what it manufactures; but they won't get a feeling of the living city.

When we searched for "Social Work," we found no heading of this profession or field of study. (There were references to Soap Box Derby and State Flowers.)

Next we checked "Political Science" and found an antiquated discussion describing merely a part of what is the total field of political science. The chapter explored the purely structural and philosophic concepts of political science, but failed to mention the current emphasis on findings from the behavioral sciences, the roles of groups, interests, and other social sources.

The fifth item was "Jewish People," which was excellent. Especially praiseworthy was its reduction of Jewish religious beliefs into clear but



simple statements without a loss of essential meaning.

Finally, we checked "Reproduction" and all related topics. While we found all organic systems aptly described and enhanced by beautiful color transparencies, we discovered that these encyclopedic people were sexless, no matter how many transparencies we turned. For all we know, they don't even reproduce. (This is a common shortcoming in encyclopedia for students.)

*The Two Cultures: And a Second Look*, by C. P. Snow has been published in hardcover by the Cambridge University Press (\$1.95) and in paperback by the New American Library. (92 pages, .60). In addition to Snow's 1959 lecture, the book presents a new article in which Sir Charles proposes a "third culture" of social historians, economists, architects, students of government, and others to bridge the gap between the scientific and literary worlds.

*Those Americans*, by N. N. Mikhailov and Z. V. Kossenko (Henry Regnery Co., \$4.95, 210 pp.) provides valuable insight into how Russians traveling in the United States see our country. The underlying tension and hostility, if not always apparent by the writers, are in evidence in the comments of Editor Frank S. Meyer. The protection of the reader from "Communist lies" by the editor's

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introduction and footnotes is possibly more irritating than the misconceptions and distorted statistics that often mar the text.

*The Letters of Robert Frost to Louis Untermeyer*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston; \$7.00, 388 pp.) Somewhat like the corporation president who chooses for his confidences and self-revelations an associate far enough down in the corporate hierarchy to pose no threat, so Robert Frost wrote these unguarded letters to Louis Untermeyer, a minor poet, teacher, anthropologist and writers' conference circuit rider. They are filled with the authentic Robert Frost: jealous of virtually every living poet, hungry for the Nobel Prize, disdainful of the United Nations, politically reactionary and possessed with a geniuslike gift of language. If the Sunday supplement version of Frost is gone, a more complex human being emerges from these letters, and one not certain to be to the liking of the ladies who memorize the shorter, harmless verses. An indispensable book to anyone who would attempt to know the man behind the poems.

*The Hidden God*, Hemingway, Faulkner, Yeats, Eliot, and Warren. By Cleanth Brooks. (Yale University Press; paperback, 1.45, 136 pp.) Five lectures, originally delivered at the Conference in Theology for the College Faculty, Trinity College, Hartford, in 1955, by Cleanth Brooks, one of the leading textual or "new" critics at Yale University. Mr. Brooks's literary criticism is a good deal more substantial than his theology, which seems somewhat akin to Billy Graham's, and his papers may profitably be read for an intelligence that cannot wholly be suppressed by the limitations of a Christian vision.

*The Creative Present*, Notes on Contemporary American Fiction. Edited by Nona Balakian and Charles Simmons. (Doubleday & Co.; \$4.95, 265 pp.) Baldwin, Bellow, Styron, Gold, Updike, Salinger, Capote, McCarthy, Jones, Kerouac, Mailer, Malamud, McCullers, Nabokov, and Welty in a series of essays by Granville Hicks, Mark Schorer, Harvey Breit, and others. The quality varies, and one might wish that John Hawkes, James Purdy, and Wright Morris were here, but the book is an example of useful and creative publishing.

*Chicago Stories* is taken from Ade's widely-read feature *Stories of the Streets and the Town* that appeared in *The Chicago Record* during the years 1890-97. Considered the matrix of Ade's work, everything is present in *Chicago Stories* that is crucial in his development.



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## OBERBECK

*continued from page 9*

through chutes in which trees and branches of the fall and winter are tangled, making navigation a bit more hazardous than in summer, when conservation agents cut out the worst jams. We sailed through the crisp sunlight, kicking up a few duck — scaup and a couple of mallard hens — and were attended almost constantly by kingfishers whose hoarse rattles broke the afternoon stillness abruptly as we rounded a bend.

My partner in the bow dipped her paddle almost with a langor, beset in this stillness with a sense of peace, I am sure, that made movement seem slightly useless. The river carried us along the dun banks. Gray crops of limestone bluff, speckled with bird droppings, leaned over.

By the time we had shimmied through a few of the rougher chutes and hauled our canoe over some of the spots where we scraped the stones, our sneakers were soaked and we took them off and propped up our feet to let the sun warm them. As I lay back in the stern, I saw an occasional buzzard wheeling in airy circles above us, riding the drafts and allowing itself to be carried on the blustering wind in great swoops and dives from which it recovered with an effortless (so it looked) few strokes of its wings.

*Volume II, Number 10*

The land seemed to be easing from the grip of winter on this late day in February.

We floated, lazy and warmed by the sun, until a cold wind dropped on us as we slid into the shadow cast by a high bluff.

This was my partner's first float on the Current and she handled all of it well, at home with the river and touched with a grace of beginning that she seems to bring to all new undertakings. Hopefully, you will excuse my somewhat sappy remarks, for as we reached the bridge that takes Highway 19 over the river and into Round Spring State Park, an unseen rock upset us, a stone not even breaking the water, an indifferent tilt of moss-covered stone that gently negotiated the bottom side of our canoe and sailed its bow up into the air. My partner, in a rise and bow as slow and graceful as a dream, danced without a sound into the air and toppled over the side and the canoe, listing and shipping water then, slid from under my feet and as gently deposited me in the water. Standing in the icy water, we listened without speaking as the river rippled by us, undisturbed and still indifferent, steadfast in its roll towards lower sources. And we smiled a slow, wide, tooth-chattering smile.

All of us must take a rest from the gongs and drumbeats of dramatic journalism sometimes.



## SCHOOL BOYCOTT

*continued from page 21*

ment expressed by the numbers who participated in the boycott and in the demonstration around City Hall and the Board of Education, could not see what had been accomplished by it. Civil rights leaders and community groups felt that the Negro community — especially the working class people — would never be quite the same again. The neighborhood meetings held prior to the boycott gave people an opportunity to express their feelings and to see what the issues were. Many expressed concerns about crowded classrooms, inadequate teaching, attitudes of school officials toward them, inability of their children to read, their ineptness in trying to tackle the problems. Most were uninterested in the proposed transfer plans, preferring to discuss ways of improving Negro schools. Others stated that because

of low incomes they would be unable to take advantage of any transfer plans where parents would have to pay transportation costs.

The process of organizing for a school boycott brought out other things, too. With unusual swiftness the Negro community was galvanized into action. Although hundreds of thousands of leaflets were distributed, it was impossible to reach all of the Negro community. Obviously informal communications resulted in many private decisions to keep children out of school. Private doubts and scepticism gave way to a feeling of the need to show solidarity and strength.

## *Community Leadership on the Spot*

While only the background of the first boycott is explored in some detail, a very similar story could be written about the second boycott. The lines were sharply drawn before the second boycott. Last minute attempts to find a reproofment had failed, and an administration backed, and possibly conceived, "Assembly to end Prejudice, Injustice and Poverty" was formed by several Negro aldermen and others. The immediate purpose was the blocking of the second school boycott. The dismissal of Lawrence Landry, leader of the boycotts from Chicago's Joint Youth Development Committee probably did not help very much. He was one of nine discharged because a federal grant had expired. Later it was made clear by city officials that a civil rights' agitator would not be rehired. These boycotts have brought consternation to the political and economic establishments. The first boycott kept 225,000 youngsters out of school. The second boycott reported 172,000 out.

The effectiveness of both boycotts and the second in particular, places community leaders in a position where they have to give greater consideration to negotiating honestly and with cognizance of their respective limitations. It places the political power structure in the position where it has to realize that sessions around the table must mean progress — not procrastination.



*The authors, writing under nom de plume, are highly experienced in problems of community leadership.*

*Page Twenty-nine*



## *Building a City of Culture*/Robert H. Orchard

ST. Louis and other metropolitan areas in the Midwest, have been spawning artistic seeds for years. But all too often, the seeds sprout, feed upon their stored energy while attempting to root, and then die when the source is exhausted. Artists lost heart, abandon the area, or struggle along and dissipate their output by holding non-creative jobs.

St. Louis particularly has many cultural activities: philharmonic and symphonic orchestras, choral, opera, and chamber music organizations; and a half dozen amateur and professional theatrical companies. Hundreds of artists display their works in more than a dozen private art galleries. But the lack of proper financing impedes the quality of many of these efforts.

If St. Louis could raise \$2,500,000 every year for the support of the arts, it would mean \$1.00 per capita. For the moment, let us forget the technicalities of how the fund would be divided, to whom it would go, how administered.

In the field of music, more than two dozen organizations perform regularly. Foremost, is the symphony orchestra, plagued by deficits and unable to provide a decent income for its performers. If the salaries of the musicians would be doubled and the cost of seats reduced by 50 per cent; the house would be regularly sold out, the season could be extended, new works could be commissioned, and the city could have one of the outstanding orchestras of the world.

What could be accomplished for opera? Instead of performing a few productions one night each, a professional season could be developed in St. Louis. Staging an opera means a minimum expenditure of approximately \$25,000 for one or \$36,000 for two performances. But if a season of six weeks could be staged, the cost of nine different operas, each performed four times, would be considerably lower.

The St. Louis area has a large pool of operatic singers and dancers of depth and beauty. But how many can devote time to rehearsals, especially when they receive hardly any remuneration? With adequate salaries, they would seek other income around the time demands of an opera company.

It has been suggested that the St. Louis riverfront be utilized for a summer music festival. What an ideal location for an open air theatre where opera, concerts, drama, and jazz festivals could be performed; the stage a barge and the auditorium the levee. Just imagine the attendance if the performances were free! How many out-of-town visitors would be drawn to a jazz festival held on the riverfront? How many young people would have their eyes opened to the beauty of Shakespeare or the wit of Barie. The New Music Circle has already proven last summer that the location is ideal, and that the attendance potential is enormous.

Why not stage a spring or fall art exhibit on the banks of the Mississippi? London, Paris, and New York all have such exhibits, where many artists, well known today, first presented their works to a critical public only a few years ago.

Why not organize a ballet company? There are plenty of aspiring dancers, an audience potential of large dimensions, and enough qualified people to stage and guide such efforts.

WERE St. Louis a major cultural center, the cost would be small, if in fact, any real cost would result at all. Hundreds of jobs would be created by making the city into an artistic center. The city would attract new residents. We could count on thousands of visitors, not just from the outlying area, but from the entire country. But this community-wide effort cannot be initiated by a few, nor carried on without a well trained, well paid staff. Nor can it be maintained through private fund raising.

The farmer, the oil producer, the mining operator, all exist through government subsidies . . . but not the artist. This is not an argument for such a course in the arts; it is a plea for conservation of creative talent and a plan for economic benefit to the community.

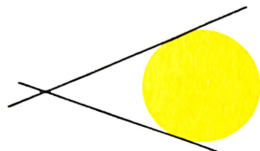
So perhaps we should accept the proposition of people support. Is it too much to ask that each resident of metropolitan St. Louis contribute \$1.00 per year to the support of an organized cultural endeavor? Our city spends thousands of dollars every year to bring conventions to the community. Were St. Louis a cultural center, how many more dollars would filter through the city's enterprises creating new jobs? We tax ourselves handsomely for schools, streets, roads, police, and fire protection. Years ago our society discovered it could not do without the health protection that community sewers provided. How much longer can we afford to neglect the artistic talents of the gifted? Perhaps in no other community of comparable size in the United States have so few done so much for so many . . . with such little financial reward.

IN Europe, there is scarcely a city of any consequence which does not spend tax money for the support of its cultural activities. In Dusseldorf, for example, 80 per cent of the city's symphony and opera costs are borne by the city treasury. The same is true in Milan, Paris, Hanover, and Zurich. The artists are thus afforded an opportunity to make a decent living and the performances are crowded nightly. The price of admission is low enough that the average citizen can afford to attend frequently. In our society, there exists a fallacy that the *average citizen* really isn't interested in things esoteric. The Beatles will draw a full house, but Beethoven won't. This just isn't so.

*The tired argument of interference on the part of government functionaries is specious. It doesn't occur in Europe. Politicians do not interfere with programming or administration. In St. Louis, however, where a few large contributors make up the deficits of many organization, cultural offerings to reflect the desires of its major financial supporters.*

The Greater St. Louis Arts Council could act as a beginning point to secure the support of community leaders and politicians, setting up the proper organization and the proper taxing structure. The Arts Council could develop a program for submission to the voters and could then follow through with organizing a professionally trained group of people. An earnings or household tax on the area's population geared to produce \$1.00 per capita would be no burden, and would produce benefits far, far in excess of the cost.

*Robert H. Orchard, president of Orchard Paper Co., has been a supporter of the arts for many years.*



## VOTING RECORDS

### Congress

#### Key to Symbols:

Y—Voting for the Bill  
N—Voting against the Bill  
A—Absent  
AY—Announced for the Bill  
AN—Announced against the Bill  
PY—Paired for the Bill  
PN—Paired against the Bill  
HR—House Bill  
S—Senate Bill

#### U. S. HOUSE VOTES

**S 777** Authorizes a two-year, \$20 million appropriation for the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Passed 252-133: R 72-86; D 180-47 (ND 131-3; SD 49-44), Nov. 20, 1963. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

**HR 6518** The Clean Air Act, to initiate and strengthen programs for the prevention and abatement of air pollution. Adoption of conference report. Adopted 273-109: R 69-94; D 204-15 (ND 129-1; SD 75-14), Dec. 10, 1963. A "yea" was a vote supporting President Kennedy's position.

**HR 9499** Passman (D La.) motion to adopt an amendment permitting the President to

authorize Export-Import Bank guarantees on credit to Communist countries for purchase of U. S. commodities if he considered it in the national interest and notified Congress within 30 days after each such determination. Agreed to 189-158: R 2-133; D 187-25 (ND 126-2; SD 61-22), Dec. 24, 1963. A "yea" was a vote supporting the position of both President Kennedy and President Johnson.

		S	HR	HR
ILLINOIS		777	6518	9499
21	Gray (D)	Y	Y	Y
24	Price (D)	Y	Y	Y
23	Shipley (D)	Y	Y	PY
16	Anderson (R)	N	N	N
17	Arends (R)	Y	N	N
20	Findley (R)	N	N	N
14	Hoffman (R)	N	N	N
12	McClory (R)	N	N	N
19	McLoskey (R)	N	N	N
18	Michel (R)	N	A	PN
15	Reid (R)	N	N	N
22	Springer (R)	Y	Y	A
CHICAGO				
1	Dawson (D)	Y	Y	Y
9	Finnegan (D)	Y	A	PY
5	Kluczynski (D)	Y	Y	Y
7	Libonati (D)	Y	Y	Y
3	Murphy (D)	Y	Y	Y
6	O'Brien (D)	A	A	PY
2	O'Hara (D)	Y	Y	Y
11	Pucinski (D)	Y	Y	Y
8	Rostenkowski (D)	Y	Y	Y
10	Collier (R)	N	N	N
4	Derwinski (R)	PY	N	N
13	Rumsfeld (R)	N	Y	N
MISSOURI				
5	Bolling (D)	Y	A	A
9	Cannon (D)	Y	Y	A
6	Hull (D)	N	Y	A
8	Ichord (D)	Y	Y	Y
10	Jones (D)	Y	Y	A
1	Karsten (D)	Y	Y	Y
4	Randall (D)	A	Y	Y
3	Sullivan (D)	Y	Y	PY
2	Curtis (R)	N	N	N
7	Hall (R)	N	N	N

#### U. S. SENATE VOTES

**HR 7885** Lausche (D. Ohio) amendment to

repeal sections of foreign aid law allowing the President to waive restrictions on aid to any Communist country if he can make the required national security finding. Agreed to 74-0, Nov. 8, 1963. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

**HR 7885** Lausche (D. Ohio) amendment to delete language that would permit the President to continue granting most-favored-nation tariff treatment to Poland and Yugoslavia. Rejected 14-55: R 11-17; D 3-38 (ND 3-30; SD 0-8), Nov. 8, 1963. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position.

**HR 7885** The Foreign Assistance Act of 1963. Passage of the bill authorizing appropriations of \$3,702,365,000 for fiscal 1964 and adding a number of restrictions on administration of the foreign aid program. Passed 63-17: R 20-7; D 43-10 (ND 34-2; SD 9-8), Nov. 15, 1963. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

**HR 6143** Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963, providing a five-year program of federal grants and loans for construction or improvement of public and private higher education academic facilities and authorizing \$1,195,000,000 over the first three years. Adoption of the conference report. Agreed to 54-7: R 17-10; D 37-17 (ND 32-4; SD 5-13), Dec. 10, 1963. A "yea" was a vote supporting the position of both President Kennedy and President Johnson.

**HR 9499** Pastore (D., R. I.) motion to adopt Senate Appropriation Committee amendment which deleted a House provision prohibiting Export-Import Bank guarantees of private credit for sales to Communist countries (rejecting ban on Soviet wheat sale). Adopted 52-32: R 8-16; D 44-16 (ND 35-6; SD 9-10), Dec. 19, 1963. A "yea" was a vote supporting the position of both President Kennedy and President Johnson.

	HR	HR	HR	HR
	7885	4885	6143	9499

Dirksen (R., Ill.)	N	Y	PN	N
Douglass (D., Ill.)	N	Y	Y	N
Long (D., Mo.)	PN	PY	Y	AY
Symington (D., Mo.)	N	Y	A	Y

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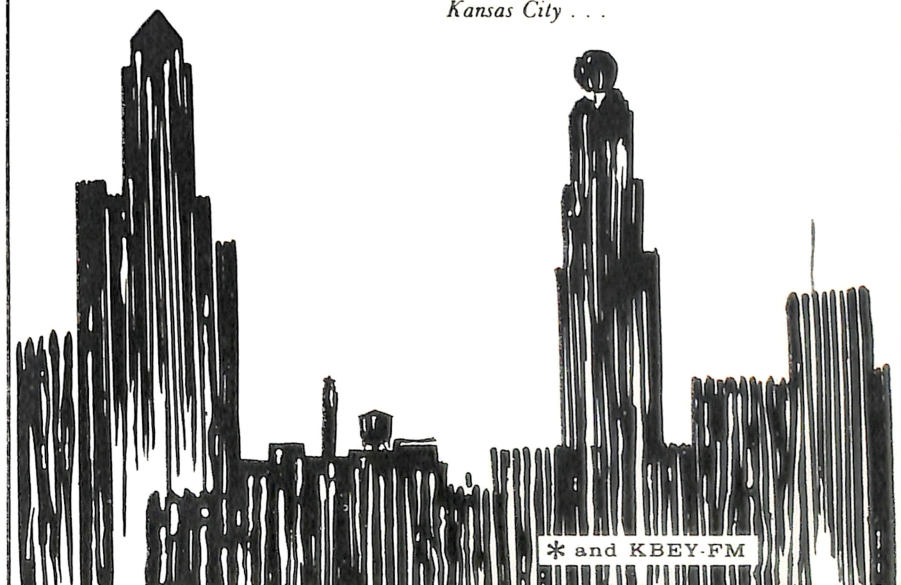
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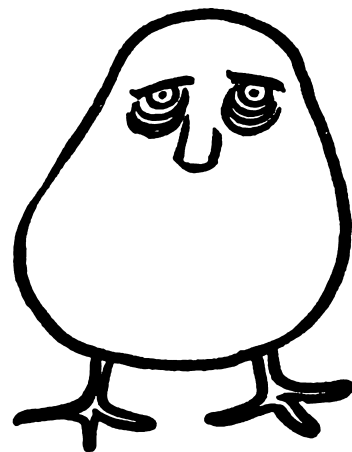
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ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

CITY \_\_\_\_\_ ZONE \_\_\_\_\_ STATE \_\_\_\_\_